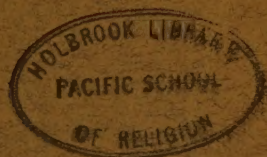


THE STUDENT WORLD

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Orthodoxy and the Ecumenical Movement

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THE STUDENT WORLD

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PHILIPPE MAURY, *Editor*

VOLUME LI

First Quarter, 1958

NUMBER I

EDITORIAL

The Christian Church appeared in history as a fellowship of believers in Jesus Christ. The different Christian congregations in different parts of the Roman Empire (and even beyond its borders, for example, in India), in spite of the various social and cultural differences, in the early days felt that they belonged to the same Body of Christ, since they had all been born into the same new life. In the early days these congregations were autonomous, and there was no serious attempt on the part of any of them to take a prominent place in Christendom, but all had equal rights and equal freedom in the Body of Christ. The bishop of a particular congregation represented in one sense the universality of the Christian fellowship in that congregation. But this situation gradually changed. The history of the disunity of the Church is a tragic history. The major split in Christendom occurred in the early thirteenth century, as a result of which the Church which had been one was divided into two groups, Eastern and Western. The Western Church, under the Patriarch of Rome, proclaimed itself as the only true Church, and later, as a result of the Reformation, it was again split into different groups, and the tendency today is to divide into smaller and smaller groups. The Eastern Church regards the Roman Church as schismatic, for having left the undivided Church, and refuses to co-operate with it.

Whatever may be the reasons for the divisions in the Church (theological, political, cultural, etc.), one fact is clearly seen from

church history : that the major reason is the lack of charity on the part of some Christian leaders. It was Christian love that bound the Christians together in the early days. But once this charity was lost, the Church faced the problem of disunity. For it was not always the unbelievers or heretics who caused division, but zealous Christians who showed little charity to their fellow Christians whose opinions differed from their own.

One important outcome of the ecumenical movement at present is an awareness on the part of the Christian Churches that no church can live in isolation, apart from the life and witness of other churches. But the difficulty is that there is a tendency in certain quarters to think of Christendom mainly in terms of the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Churches and to leave out the ancient Eastern Church which forms the second largest Christian group in the world. Though many of the Orthodox Churches are in the ecumenical movement, consciously or unconsciously the Protestant Churches try to dominate the ecumenical scene. Here again the reasons are many, and it is not easy to blame one church or another. The first step to be taken by all churches in our ecumenical encounter is towards a better knowledge and understanding of one another.

It is a practice to devote from time to time an issue of *The Student World* to geographical or confessional questions, and this issue is an attempt to give a knowledge of some aspects of the life and witness of Eastern Christendom to our readers.

The Orthodox in the ecumenical movement

The WSCF is not merely a Protestant organization as some tend to think. In its membership are both Protestant and Orthodox student groups. Orthodox student leaders were closely associated with the Federation from its very beginning, and have contributed tremendously to its thinking and growth. As early as 1911 the Federation held one of its major conferences in Constantinople. In 1913 the Student Christian Movement in Russia was admitted as a member of the Federation. The conference in Constantinople was significant in the life of the Federation since it brought students from the Western and

Eastern Churches more closely into the fellowship of the Federation, and also contributed greatly to its ecumenical concern.

Speaking of the participation of Orthodox students in the life of the Federation, Dr. Visser't Hooft (then General Secretary of the Federation) wrote in 1935 in *The Student World* :

What the Federation has learned from its Orthodox members especially is to take the Church seriously and that not merely as a useful organization but as a channel of God's grace. To be sure, it is not only the Eastern Church which holds this conception of the Church, but in the Federation it has been the Eastern membership which has been most consistent and uncompromising in defending its faith. The result is first, that stirred by the reality of Orthodox love for the Church others have begun to rediscover the Church conception of their own confession which they had forgotten ; and second, that the Federation has definitely chosen against a conscious or unconscious policy of becoming a substitute for the Church. The Orthodox have helped us to see that the Christian unity outside the Church is not Christian unity at all, and by so doing they have helped the Federation to understand better what is the nature of its own peculiar ecumenical mission.

With its great tradition and rich liturgical life, the Orthodox Church has still its contribution to make to the total life of the Church throughout the world. For example, the new rediscovery of the significance of the laity in the ecumenical movement in recent times is not a new thing as far as the Orthodox Churches are concerned. The articles in this issue clearly show that the Orthodox Churches have always given a prominent place to the laity in the life of the Church and to their witness in the world.

Difficulties for the Orthodox

Though many of the Orthodox Churches have been associated with the ecumenical movement from its very beginning, they have their own difficulty in fuller participation in the movement. Heikki Kirkinen in his article speaks of the reactions

of Orthodox students to ecumenical encounter. Many of the points he has mentioned are to be taken very seriously by other members of the Federation. One major problem for the co-operation of Orthodox and Protestants is that some Protestant missionaries misuse the opportunity for co-operation to proselytize Orthodox Christians into Protestant groups. There is a genuine fear of Protestant proselytizing in some Orthodox Churches. One wonders whether the time has not come to reach an agreement between the churches on the question of "sheep-stealing" activities. The ecumenical movement is not the place for one group to proselytize another, but rather the place where the churches come together to understand each other and to try to rediscover the lost wholeness of the Universal Church and its mission.

An Orthodox thinks and speaks as a member of the Body of Christ. Subjective thinking is unfamiliar to him. But members of the Western Churches generally think subjectively. The Church and its tradition do not form part of their thinking and being, but are only subjects for discussion. The whole West has been brought up in the school of Latin culture, and has been greatly influenced by it. In dealing with religion it tends to be logical. For Westerners the Church, "the body", is both an organic body and a legally established institution. But for the East, the Church is a living community and not an institution. Because of the institutional character of Western Christianity, it ascribes final authority either to some document or to an organ of church government like Pope or Councils. The seat of authority is something concrete, external, and clearly defined. The Eastern Church rejects the attempt of the West to locate church authority in one or another ecclesiastical institution. For it, the Holy Spirit, speaking and acting through the whole body of believers, is the teacher and guardian of truth.

There are also differences between East and West in their teaching on salvation, Holy Communion, Holy Scripture and tradition, etc. In ecumenical gatherings, an Orthodox is sometimes shocked to find his Protestant brethren going to Holy Communion after eating a full meal! These differences in outlook and teaching sometimes make it difficult for Orthodox Churches to participate fully in ecumenical gatherings.

Need for more knowledge and a new attitude

The participation of the Orthodox Churches in the ecumenical movement is of great significance to churches of both East and West, for the gifts given to different churches are complementary, and one will not be complete without the other. It is not easy to break down the prejudice, suspicion, and misunderstanding accumulated during many centuries. But all the churches which confess the trinitarian faith have in common their membership in the Body of Christ, and through this common participation mutual trust and understanding must be brought about and the unity of the Christian Church achieved. This means a more patient listening to, and a better knowledge of, others, and above all a new attitude towards them.

T. V. PHILIP.

Orthodoxy and the Ecumenical Movement

Metropolitan JAMES OF MELITA

The scandal of Orthodox participation in the World Council of Churches

The presence and participation of Orthodoxy in the ecumenical movement constitutes at least a question mark in the mind if not on the lips of many Orthodox and non-Orthodox scholars and friends. They cannot understand why the Orthodox Church, the Church that believes that she alone is the ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC and APOSTOLIC Church, has anything to do with the numerous Christian communions and confessions that may, indeed, form a world council of *churches*, but which cannot thereby in any way constitute the TRUE Church of Christ.

They all understand why the Roman Catholic Church remains outside the World Council, and they find nothing inconsistent in its attitude, for everybody knows what the Roman Catholic Church thinks of herself. The very same people, though, ask themselves why the Orthodox Church, although in this respect she has similar opinions to those of the Roman Catholic, does participate and is even a member church in the World Council of Churches, the very purpose of which is to foster the idea and the need of church unity among separated "churches".

Insufficiency of knowledge of the Christian East

Such a question would never be asked if the West in general had sufficient knowledge of the East, and especially of the Eastern Church. Protestants as well as Roman Catholics think of the Eastern Orthodox in terms of a separated or even schismatic, isolated, and powerless Church, which is even in

need of re-evangelization. It is this kind of unrealistic thinking that led to the notion among the Churches of the West, both Roman and Protestant, that the Christian East could be considered as a mission field (or "battle field"), where the predominance of one or the other could be tested and even decided.

Western missions, however, were met in the East with distrust and suspicion by the Orthodox, who had never forgotten the way in which the crusades had imposed the Latin Church on the Greek Church and empire. Neither of the two main Western Churches can be happy or proud of the "spiritual" gains of their more recent "missionary" activities in the East. The Roman Church, in order to save face, conceded a most "commercial" compromise by which she permitted Eastern ritual so long as she might keep her proselytes in her fold; the Anglican and Episcopal Churches transformed their proselytizing activities into inter-church aid, so that the Eastern Churches may become able to help themselves; but several Protestant Churches started missionary activities and proselytizing work among the struggling members of the Orthodox Church, and some still maintain such activities. They may have acted in good faith — but the effect of their action on church relations was bound to be unfortunate.

But in the late nineteenth century some Protestant Churches began to reevaluate the Christian East and to study its ecclesiastical history together with its cultural background. The only remark one could make at this point is that the study of Orthodoxy is still the privilege of some European and American scholars, who are unfortunately very limited in number.

Ecumenism of the early twentieth century thought more sympathetically of Orthodoxy when it decided to invite Orthodoxy to take part in its ecumenical conversations. Orthodoxy gladly accepted the invitation, as well as the challenge, for she never denied her ecumenical responsibilities. Thus it is true that in recent times many more Protestant theologians have had the opportunity to meet and know Orthodoxy in the meetings initiated and sponsored by Western ecumenists. But a census of opinion, if it could be taken, would attest the fact that sufficient knowledge of the East has not yet been achieved in the West.

What Orthodoxy really is

It would take volumes to explain what Orthodoxy is or stands for. But what is it in the eyes or in the judgment of a contemporary ecumenist? The ecumenical importance of Orthodoxy may be either vaguely expressed, as in *The Kingship of Christ* of Dr. G. K. A. Bell, the present Honorary President of the World Council of Churches, when he wrote that "the full participation of the Orthodox Churches is a matter of great moment to the World Council of Churches", or more positively, as in the allocution of Dr. Visser 't Hooft before the Provisional Committee (in the United States in 1947) in which he said that "the Eastern Churches have maintained a sense of the objective reality and the cosmic dimensions of the drama of salvation which the Western Churches need to recapture" (*Ibid.* p. 58).

This is one aspect of Orthodoxy viewed from an ecumenical angle. But Orthodoxy is a little more than that! "The Orthodox Church", according to Prof. Henri Grégoire, "has been a living force, a moral force of the first order. And to do it justice one cannot rest content to describe it merely in its present attitude, or in one only of the attitudes which it has successively assumed. Nothing can be more superficial than the reproach of 'Caesaropapism' ¹ with which it has at times been branded; nothing more inexact so far as the Orthodox Church is concerned than the charge of 'ceremonialism', of formalism stifling the life of mysticism, for this mystic life never ceased to inspire the ascetics and at certain periods to take possession of the masses." ²

While Henri Grégoire tries hard not to be unjust to the Orthodox Church, another writer, the Protestant author Robert Payne, in his recent book, *The Holy Fire* (pp. XV and XVI), notes more positively that "what is most astonishing in the Eastern Church is this gentle visionary quality allied with a conception of God as the *mysterium tremendum*, the starlit flood of powers sweeping across the heavens. . . . In these fine-spun imaginations, lit with the Orient sun, Christ is seen more clearly and more sharply than in the West."

¹ That is, of undue subservience to the state.

² *Byzantium*, by N. H. BAYNES and H. St. L. B. Moss, pp. 86-87.

We have quoted so far what non-Orthodox religious leaders and authors have said about Orthodoxy. Our own concept of Orthodoxy is that it represents the Christian Church doctrine, order, worship, and tradition of the first eight centuries of united Christendom. The common use of the term "Orthodox" to signify the Church of the East obliges Christian Churches of the West to see the Eastern Church as the Church which maintains the genuine characteristics of the one Church of Christ.

Why Orthodoxy participates in the ecumenical movement

Orthodoxy, being true to her history and tradition and compelled by the consciousness of her God-ordained task, is present and intends to be present and to participate actively in all ecumenical conversations as long as their aim is to restore the disrupted unity of Christendom.

Orthodoxy's principal aim in participating in the ecumenical movement is to make her own contribution to the sacred cause of bringing divided Christians together, and also to make known and impart to member churches of the WCC "the riches of her faith, worship, and order, and of her spiritual and ascetic life and experience" (Patriarchal Encyclical of February 6, 1952).

The principle of Orthodox collaboration with the ecumenists of our century was set forth by the Patriarchal Encyclical of 1902. In this history-making Encyclical letter, the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim III stated that, although "our primary task is to watch over our own doctrines, we must nevertheless be also concerned for our Christian brothers and never cease our prayers for the union of all into ONE. Difficulties should not discourage us, nor should the thought of the apparent impossibility of it (church unity) stop us from engaging ourselves in the work of Church unity which is dear to God or from examining existing possibilities for it; we should always remember that it is our duty to walk in wisdom, and to conduct ourselves in meekness towards our separated brothers, for they also believe in the all-Holy Trinity and take pride in being called with the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, hoping also to be saved by the grace of God."

The Encyclicals that were issued in 1920 and 1952 did nothing else but reaffirm this principle which forms the foundation of the ecumenical theory and practice adopted by the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate. The following paragraphs, quoted, one from the Encyclical of 1920, and the other from that of 1952, may clarify to a greater degree the said principle :

Our Church, holding the opinion that the rapprochement and communion between various Christian churches is not excluded by existing dogmatic differences, and that such an approach is very desirable and needed and in many ways useful for the individual churches as well as for the whole Christian body, and also for preparing and facilitating the full and blessed union of all in Christ, judged that the present is a most appropriate time for re-examining and studying afresh the very important subject of unity.

Although it is probable and to be expected that the old prejudices and habitual practices and demands that have so many times, up to now, made unity impossible, will be stirred up again and interposed between us, we nevertheless have the opinion that, since at this preliminary stage we will not seek more than a simple contact and rapprochement, the difficulties we may meet should be of comparatively minor importance.

If we have good will and intention, no obstacle can be invincible or insurmountable.

According to its own constitution, the World Council of Churches seeks only to facilitate common action by the churches, to promote cooperation in study in a Christian spirit, to strengthen ecumenical-mindedness among members of all Churches, to support an even wider spreading of the holy Gospel, and finally to preserve, uplift and generally to restore spiritual values for mankind within the framework of common Christian standards. We can, therefore, unreservedly say that the principal aim of the World Council is essentially practical, and that its main task is one which is sanctioned by God. All in all, the World Council of Churches, as the outward expression of an inner noble wish that embraces the soul of Christendom to the effect that all Churches of Christ should coordinate their activities in confronting the great problems of humanity, is an organisation worthy of our full attention.

Because this is the aim of the World Council of Churches, and also because the principal aim of our Orthodox Church in participating so far in this pan-Christian movement has

been to make known and to impart to the heterodox the riches of her faith, worship, and order, and of her spiritual and ascetic experience, as well as to inform herself about their new methods and their conceptions of church life and activity (things of great value that the Orthodox Church could not appropriate and foster in the past on account of the particular conditions in which she lived), we consider that the participation and cooperation of the Orthodox Church with the World Council of Churches in the future is both necessary and valuable.

The Orthodox view on church unity

The Orthodox view of unity is well known and does not need detailed explanation. The Eastern Churches adhere to the belief that the real UNITY of the Church was never and can never be broken, since she is "the body of Christ, the fulness of him" (Eph. 1 : 22-23).

What, therefore, the Orthodox means, when speaking of unity, is not unity in the strict sense of the word, but rather "union" or "reunion". This has been stated by Orthodox theologians more than once at the ecumenical conferences, beginning with the Faith and Order Conference at Lausanne (1927), and ending with that held in Oberlin (1957). In the first the Orthodox delegates jointly stated that "reunion can take place only on the basis of the common faith and confession of the ancient, undivided Church of the seven Ecumenical Councils and of the first eight centuries". In the last, the North American Faith and Order Study Conference, the particular statement read by Orthodox representatives goes as follows :

The Orthodox Church teaches that the unity of the Church has not been lost, because she is the Body of Christ, and, as such, can never be divided... We admit, of course, that the unity of Christendom has been disrupted, that the unity of faith and the integrity of order have been surely broken, but we do not admit that the unity of the Church, and precisely of the "visible" and historical church, has ever been broken or lost, so as to be now a problem of search and discovery. The problem of Unity is for us, therefore, the problem of the return to the fullness of Faith and Order, in full faithfulness to the message of Scripture and Tradition and in the obedience to the will of God "that all may be one".

The above quotations are sufficient enough to indicate beyond any doubt what the Orthodox view of "unity" is, and why, believing this, the Orthodox consider that the greatest service they can render to their Christian brethren at ecumenical conferences is to make their own position unmistakably clear by publishing separately their statement on the subjects under discussion.

The ecumenical movement creates no problems for Orthodoxy

The Orthodox Church takes part in all discussions and deliberations on Church unity, because she feels it is in line with her task to inform others how she stands on this very important issue. To use the words pronounced by the Orthodox in Edinburgh (1937), "The Orthodox Church discusses 'Church unity' for she believes that despite all existing difference of opinion and belief the Master and Lord is ONE — Jesus Christ, who will lead us to a more and more close cooperation for the edifying of the Body of Christ."

This statement, inspired and based on the well-known passage of the Epistle to the Ephesians (4 : 15-16), most accurately expresses the Orthodox mind. Orthodoxy opposes and will always oppose suggestions to the effect that we can entertain the idea of reunion on a minimum basis or confine it to a few common points of verbal statements. The Orthodox Church will continue to discuss unity, but only in the hope and prayer that it may some day be commonly understood that "where the totality of faith is absent, there can be no *communio in sacris*", and conversely, that unity in the totality of the faith is unity indeed, carrying with it communion in every necessary ecclesiastical activity.

In the light of what we have so far said, it is obvious that the ecumenical movement creates no problems whatsoever for Orthodoxy. On the contrary, it creates a new atmosphere, favouring so far the hope for a fresh approach and study of the problem of "church unity". The Orthodox Church has never adopted a defeatist attitude. It is not in her nature. Difficulties, obstacles, disillusion, and even failures, as it was often the case in the past, are not paralyzing but strengthening the belief that church reunion is still within reach.

Differences in faith and order, in worship and tradition, constitute a challenge for Orthodoxy, not a reason for abstaining from ecumenical discussions.

It may be a mere repetition, but the truth must be repeated and re-emphasized when forgotten or overlooked. And the truth that should always be remembered in all ecumenical circles, is that there are no churches but ONE, and that this truth is more than attested by Church history. The branch theory, that is, that the true Church consists of the Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Anglican Churches, as well as the fragmentation theory, that is, that there is schism *within* the Church, or that all existing churches are, to a greater or less degree "in schism", can find no ground of justification in church history. Orthodoxy, however, can perfectly see and comprehend present church realities. She knows all she needs to know in regard to the existing numerous communions, confessions, denominations, groups, and sects.

Hopeful signs

The Orthodox Church, furthermore, can see that the ecumenical movement is determined to continue moving ahead. Many *rapprochements* and "unions" have already taken place among its member churches; the hope for a gradual narrowing of the gap between different traditional streams is gaining new strength. The speed the ecumenical movement can develop all depends on its member churches. The sooner the member churches cut across the traditional lines, the sooner the reunion we long for will happily be materialized. I can see how difficult, how problematic at this stage, such a reunion is, but if we sincerely hold to the ultimate aim of reunion, God will favour us with the gift of unity we so longingly pray for.

It is in this hope and prayer and in this deep conviction that the Orthodox Church participates in the ecumenical movement. Our Lord Jesus is still praying for us. May his will be done. "For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us... and he came and preached peace to us which were afar off, and to them that were nigh. For through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father" (Eph. 2 : 14, 17-18).

The Federation, the Ecumenical Movement, and the Eastern Churches

FRANCIS HOUSE

As others see us

We Western Europeans commonly believe that a thing is what it is, and is not what it is not ; but this is a typical fallacy of that provincial phenomenon known as the Renaissance ! It leaves out of account the factor of relativity. Yet its influence is very pervasive. We habitually identify "universal history" with "Western history" or, at best, with "world history seen through Western eyes". We still speak of the "discovery of the Americas" — as though, forsooth, America before the time of Columbus was as unpopulated as the howling wastes of Antarctica ! Europe is always seen as the real centre of thought, progress, invention, political wisdom, and economic life.

This typical Western egocentricity is reflected also in church relations. The "universal Church" is in practice identified by most Westerners with the Western Churches (Catholic and Protestant). All other Christian traditions, in so far as they come to our attention at all, seem marginal, eccentric, obsolete, and unimportant. The last reference to the great Eastern Orthodox Church in most text-books of church history is to the fall of Constantinople in 1483. The so called "lesser Eastern Churches" are practically not mentioned at all after the sixth century A.D. ! And, conversely, the action of the Western Churches which still has the largest place in the conscious and unconscious thoughts and attitudes of Greek Christians, is usually given no more than a passing reference in these same Western text-books : I refer to the sack of Constantinople by Crusaders on the Wednesday of Holy Week 1204, the disaster which really paved the way for the final defeat of the Empire by the Turks 250 years later. The English liberal historian H. A. L. Fisher saw more clearly than most Western ecclesiastical

historians when he described this event as "the most disgraceful act of mediaeval European history".

The Reverend Peter Hammond, author of a unique attempt by a member of one church to present a living picture of a church of another confession "from the inside"¹, described recently the results of looking at the Western ecclesiastical scene through the eyes of a Greek Orthodox: "The Lutheran and the Christian Scientist were transformed into eccentric Roman Catholics, and the Pope appeared as the arch-Protestant"². If most readers of *The Student World* consider such a statement to be ridiculous, that is only one more piece of evidence of the extent to which we Westerners have arrogantly assumed that history written from our point of view is the same thing as universal history, and that our Western Churches really do stand at the centre of the ecclesiastical solar system!

Truth and charity demand that we should attempt to get rid of our Western blinkers and to see the facts more squarely and fairly. This will involve a "Copernican revolution" in our ecclesiastical outlook — but even if it can be accomplished intellectually, we must not delude ourselves into thinking that we shall then be capable of seeing all the facts of church history as they really are in themselves. We may hope to begin to appreciate and understand the outlook of Eastern Christians better than before, but no one can ever attain on earth to that Olympian detachment which was once supposed to characterize the "scientific historian". Many articles in this number of *The Student World* are written by Orthodox from within their great tradition. This one can only be written from outside it, and I ask in advance for pardon for inevitable if involuntary misunderstandings.

"Ecumenical" and "Oecumenical"

As a Westerner I may be permitted to remark that although "oecumenical" is an ancient Greek word, the modern ecumenical movement began among the Western Churches. Hence such an

¹ *The Waters of Marah*, SCM Press Ltd., London 1956.

² Talk on the BBC Third Programme printed in *The Listener* for Nov. 14, 1957.

article as this is bound to take the shape of a story of how the pioneers of the ecumenical movement in the West "discovered" the Churches of the East, and of how the latter came to participate in the movement. But fundamentally this is a typical "Western" distortion. The Orthodox Church was not something that awaited Western discovery to achieve significance. It was "there" all the time. But when we speak of "ecumenism" as a recent development among the fragmented, mutually antagonistic, Churches of the West, we tend to ignore the long and rich "oecumenical" traditions of the Orthodox East. So many treasures that have been lost in the West, have been preserved in the East. So many aspects of Christian faith and church life which have developed unevenly in isolation from one another in the Roman Catholic and Protestant traditions, have been held together and in balance in the Eastern Church. So much of the "wholeness" in church life which we seek to recover has not been lost by our Eastern brethren... In the crisis of the European régimes after the Napoleonic crisis, the British statesman Canning called upon the newly liberated countries of Latin America "to redress the balance of the old world". In ecumenical affairs there is much to be said for calling upon the East to redress the balance of the West!

The confusion of languages

Contacts between the Latin-speaking West and the Greek-speaking East within the one, universal, "catholic" Church of Christ became more and more difficult and infrequent from the end of the sixth century onwards. They continued to be infrequent, difficult, subject to all kinds of political pressure and ecclesiastical intrigues, until our own day. An important though often unrecognized cause of division lay in differences of language. During the 800 years from 650 to 1450 A.D. very few "Greeks" knew any Latin: practically no "Latins" knew any Greek: technical difficulties of translation and interpretation had much to do with the widening break between East and West and with the failure of attempts at reconciliation at the Councils of Lyon (1274) and Florence (1438). These difficulties of language were symptomatic of the profound cultural division

between the two sections of the church. In the following centuries many more Westerners learnt Greek and Easterners, Latin ; but by a curious turn of events, which Fr. Georges Florovsky loves to describe as a "pseudomorphosis", most of the Eastern Orthodox theologians in the Near East and in Russia learned their theology in Latin and came under strong Jesuit or Lutheran influences. The result was that the distinctive truths of the Orthodox theological tradition became obscured or refracted by transmission through Latin and Roman Catholic phraseology and thought forms. From 1650 to 1850, the exponents of Orthodoxy usually wore the mask of Western scholasticism !

Western Christians only began to understand a little more of what Orthodoxy really means when in the course of the nineteenth century Orthodox Churches were set up in the United States by Russian¹ and Greek immigrants, and while visitation between the Anglican and Russian Churches became more frequent, Orthodox theologians came to Bonn to confer with the Old Catholics (1871 and 1874). The Anglo-Catholic movement within the churches of the Anglican communion led to the publication of English translations of many Orthodox liturgical texts and ancient hymns which found their way into many hymnals. (The traditional Vesper hymn *Phos ilaron*, "Hail, gladdening light", also translated into English in the lines beginning "O gladsome light, O grace", is a good example). The significance of these developments was that a small but growing number of Western Christians began to make a new kind of contact with their Eastern brethren — not by the arid way of political negotiation and theological dispute, but by entering into living, personal experience of Orthodox liturgical worship. This experience was a revelation for many of a whole dimension of Christian life which had been almost lost in the West. Many premature dreams and hopes of reunion were nourished by such visits and contacts ; but one of their most enduring results can be seen in the liturgical movements in the Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Anglican Churches of the mid-twentieth century, which represent a turning away from

¹ There was a Russian Bishop in San Francisco ninety years ago.

the excessive individualism which has characterized both late mediaeval and most post-Tridentine Roman piety and almost all Protestantism, and a rediscovery of "the corporate nature of Christian mysticism" which breathes from every page of the Acts and of the Epistles, and which has ever been one of the most striking features of Orthodox spirituality. When modern Roman Catholic writers exhort the faithful "to pray the mass" instead of using the time for saying their own prayers; when Anglican and Protestant writers teach that "the prayer of the Church must be the norm of personal devotion", and when preachers and teachers emphasize the Pauline doctrine that it is the Spirit of Christ himself who prays in us, who are the members of his Body, they are recalling us to aspects of the Gospel which the Orthodox Churches have never lost. As we shall see later, the pattern of worship at ecumenical conferences was to be radically transformed under the influence of this precious aspect of the Orthodox tradition.

John R. Mott leads again

The Orthodox Churches were not represented at the International Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 which is generally regarded as being the first historical manifestation of the modern ecumenical movement. But the very next year Dr. John R. Mott organized a meeting of the General Committee of the World's Student Christian Federation at Constantinople. As he surveyed the ranks of delegates and observers from the "ancient Churches of the East" who attended the Committee, Dr. Mott asked "When, since the early Councils, has there come together a gathering representing so nearly the entire Christian Church?" The historians of the ecumenical movement record the fact that at this meeting at Constantinople, the great Swedish Archbishop and ecumenical pioneer Söderblom "learned to take the Eastern Churches into the ecumenical vision"¹. The future Exarch of the Oecumenical Patriarch in the West, Bishop Germanos of Thyatira, and the future Serbian Bishop, patriot

¹ ROUSE & NEILL, *History of the Ecumenical Movement*, p. 655.

and reformer, Nicolai Velimirovic, were also present at this WSCF meeting and made their first contact with Christians from the West.

Soon afterwards Student Christian Movements were founded in Roumania, Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece. The YMCA and YWCA also strengthened their relations with "Orthodox countries" at this time. The YWCA had Orthodox delegates from Russia and Bulgaria at a meeting in Berlin in 1910 and both organizations formed a joint student association in what was then the territory of the Turkish Empire¹. But the big expansion of Orthodox activity and membership of these organizations began after the war of 1914-18 and in large measure as a result of their war-time services. After 1918 the YMCA was active in nine different countries with large Orthodox populations. YMCA leaders had most fruitful conferences with representatives of the Orthodox Churches in Bulgaria in 1928, in Greece in 1930, and in Roumania in 1933. As a result it was agreed that in these lands the YMCAs would be "conducted in harmony with the principles of the Orthodox Church and in consultation with its leaders". In this way the YMCA itself became a more fully and truly ecumenical organization.

If contacts with Christians in Russia were almost completely ended by the Bolshevik Revolution, the arrival in the West of large numbers of Russian Orthodox refugees provided possibilities for living relationships between Eastern and Western Christians such as had never been known before. Through Dr. Paul B. Anderson and Dr. Donald Lowrie, through the YMCA Russian Press, and through support of such key institutions as the Theological Academy of St. Sergius in Paris, the YMCA was able to render great service to these exiles and to give a multitude of Westerners the opportunity to enter for the first time into the rich treasures of Orthodox church life. It is significant that the Abbé Paul Couturier, Roman Catholic apostle of prayer for unity, first became interested in the ecumenical question through his work with Russian refugees in Lyons.

¹ ROUSE, *History of the WSCF*, pp. 152-161.

The Russians' contribution

The Russian Student Christian Movement in exile, founded in 1920 in Paris with the support of the YMCA and the WSCF, soon proved to be one of the most lively and influential organizations among the emigrés, and its general secretary for many years, Professor Leo Zander, and his wife, must be remembered among the ecumenical pioneers of the twentieth century. The influence of Metropolitan Evlogios, the philosopher Nicholas Berdiaev, and Father Sergy Boulgakov and other professors of the Academy spread far and wide. Never before had the Western Churches had in their very midst such a brilliant and stimulating group of representatives of an Orthodox tradition. Contact with Russian theology ceased to be the preserve of a very few Western theologians, and thousands of Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Anglican intellectuals read and discussed English, French, or German translations of books by members of the group. The professors of the Academy attended conferences and gave open lectures in Western languages. At the same time the opening of new Orthodox Churches in many towns in Central and Western Europe and the United States greatly increased opportunities for Christians of other churches to join in the cycle of the church's liturgical worship. In the same period some outstanding Greek bishops and theologians, representing the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, also visited the West for the first time.

The World's Student Christian Federation several times modified its constitution in order to adjust it to the presence in its midst of this dynamic group of Russian students and ex-students. The changes were of considerable ecumenical significance. They represented a trend away from the individualism of the early evangelical days of the Federation towards a much fuller recognition of the place of the Church and of the corporate life of the body of which the individual Christian is a member. They implied that "reunion of the churches" should replace the "unity of Christians" as the most timely formulation of the ecumenical objective. The publication by the Federation of the prayer book *Venite Adoremus*, which included the texts of the traditional orders of service of all the main confessional

traditions, was also partly due to the impulse received from the Russian Orthodox Movement.

In 1927 an English Presbyterian secretary of the British SCM conceived the idea of a joint conference of theological students from the Orthodox Academy in Paris and from English theological colleges. These Anglo-Russian student conferences became an annual event, and led before long to the formation of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius which continues to this day to stimulate many different kinds of joint conference and study between Anglicans and Orthodox of many different traditions and jurisdictions. Later on similar Orthodox and Presbyterian, and Orthodox and Lutheran fellowships were developed in Scotland and in Scandinavia. Many English bishops and theologians, including the present Archbishop of York, made their first intimate contacts with Orthodox theologians through the conferences of the Fellowship, and its *Journal* has published a great deal of important ecumenical material.

A Gateway to Heaven

Programs of these Fellowship meetings are unique in this respect — that they are built round the celebration of the Orthodox Liturgy and of the Holy Communion on alternate days: everyone attends both services — but in accordance with existing regulations, each actually communicates only at the service in his own tradition. That is the bare bones of the story. But no Western Christian who has attended one of these conferences can ever forget the experience. From the first translations of the liturgy into English or French were available. Quite often part of the liturgy itself is celebrated in English or French. Sometimes it is sung by an experienced choir — sometimes only by a small group of Orthodox participants — sometimes even an English choir has been taught to sing some of the music. But whatever the languages used or the quality of the singing the basic experience of sharing in a timeless cycle of worship “eternal in the Heavens” has remained the same, and has brought thousands of non-Orthodox students to a degree of understanding of Orthodoxy which they could never

have reached by a process of academic study or even by participation in ecumenical conferences in which the celebration of the Liturgy did not have this central place.

The most striking example of the influence of the Orthodox on the ecumenical development of the Christian youth movements was seen in the pattern of worship followed at the first World Conference of Christian Youth held at Amsterdam in 1939, and at all subsequent large ecumenical meetings such as the Assemblies of the World Council of Churches. At previous conferences of the cooperating organizations common worship had usually been either of a composite or "non-denominational" character or according to the use of the church of the country where the conference was being held. I well remember the passionate debates at the preparatory committee provoked by Professor Zander's proposal that most if not all the services of the conference should be confessional, and that several should be services of Holy Communion (although it was and is a fact that in "divided Christendom" it is impossible for all participants in an ecumenical conference to partake of the sacrament at the same altar.)

Was it right to encourage attendance at confessional services at an ecumenical meeting?... Some felt that the plan would have an educational value but would not make for common worship. Others felt that attendance at three services of Holy Communion, at none of which all could receive together, would unduly emphasize the disunity of Christendom. On the other hand, Eastern Orthodox speakers urged the importance of being able to bring young Orthodox delegates to Protestant Communion services, and the impossibility of understanding Orthodoxy without experience of the Holy Liturgy. Others told how confessional services had been at the centre of smaller ecumenical conferences, and stressed the fact that "simple" undenominational services did not really succeed in uniting those who came from very different traditions¹.

The pattern of worship along these lines which is followed today at ecumenical conferences is so much taken for granted that it is good to recall that it was only developed less than

¹ *Christus Victor*, Official Report of the 1939 Conference of Christian Youth, pp. 18-19.

twenty years ago, and that the Orthodox took a leading part in the making of this new pattern. One delegate who attended a celebration of the Orthodox Liturgy for the first time at this conference expressed the experience of many when he wrote: "The atmosphere of mystic, timeless devotion and adoration... gave an insight otherwise unachievable, into the very soul of the Orthodox Church."¹

Singing for unity

The Russian choir at this celebration of the Liturgy at Amsterdam was led by M. Denissov of the Paris Opera. During previous years this choir had done a marvellous piece of popular "ecumenical education" by visiting many parish churches and cathedrals in Switzerland, England, Scotland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The choir sang classical Russian liturgical music, and Professor Zander and others gave brief explanations of the meaning of the texts. The response was overwhelming. A Swiss Protestant peasant woman said: "Listening to those hymns made me long for heaven." Another listener wrote, "It isn't simply singing. It is a revelation about the heavenly world." Another, "One should listen to those canticles kneeling down." And yet another, "One such concert does more for ecumenism than any conference."²

The Eastern Churches and the World Council

This is an extremely inadequate account of the impact of Eastern Orthodoxy on the ecumenical movement at the youth level between the wars. It leaves altogether out of account many other important developments—such as the fruitful contacts which were made with the Orthodox Christian Youth Movements in the Arab world and with the Orthodox Syrian and Mar Thoma Churches in South India. But enough has been said to show that even before the second world war, ecumenical developments in the Western world were already beginning to be influenced in most important ways by Orthodoxy.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

² See *Vision and Action* by L. A. ZANDER, pp. 212-216.

We cannot trace here the story of the growth of ecumenical relationships between the Orthodox and Western Churches in general, though it is significant that many of those on both sides who found the way to closer relationships were former members of Student Christian Movements. It must suffice to observe that today the Patriarchal Churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch, the Church of Cyprus, the Church of Greece, the "Coptic Orthodox" Church, the Ethiopian Church, the "Mar Thoma Syrian" Church of Malabar, the "Orthodox Syrian" Church of Malabar, the Assyrian Church, the Roumanian Orthodox Episcopate of America, the "Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic" Church of North America and the "Syrian Antiochian Orthodox" Church are all members of the World Council of Churches, that the major Orthodox Churches have been well represented at the Assemblies and Central Committee meetings of the Council, and that three Greek Archbishops have accepted office as Presidents. Moreover there is good reason to suppose that if certain obvious non-ecclesiastical difficulties could be overcome, the Orthodox Churches of Russia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Poland, together with the "Armenian Orthodox" Church (whose Supreme Catholicos lives in the U.S.S.R.), would also join the World Council. In the United States, the National Council of Churches of Christ is always very properly referred to as a representative council of the "Protestant and Orthodox Churches".

Other articles in this number will reveal some of the inevitable tensions and difficulties which arise when Christian traditions which have lived so long in isolation from one another are first brought together again. The fact that most Orthodox naturally do not realise that the proselytism attempted by many American missions is in no way the responsibility of member churches of the World Council, is one major cause of friction and misunderstanding. Many other difficulties arise from the impossibility for political reasons of holding a Pan-Orthodox Synod at which decisions could be jointly taken about new forms of ecumenical relationships in which Orthodox Churches are involved in many lands. But in spite of some strains and stresses and occasional set-backs there is no doubt that the Eastern Orthodox and other Eastern Churches are taking an increasingly active part

in the ecumenical movement. This participation is warmly welcomed by most of the Western member Churches. Even radically Protestant publications have written of the danger of the World Council turning into a pan-Protestant Federation if the Orthodox do not continue to pull their weight within it ! As an Anglican I am convinced that the renewal of the Western Churches and the clearer manifestation of their unity in Christ can be greatly forwarded by their closer association with the Orthodox Churches in conferences and study and above all in worship.

Reactions of Orthodox Students to Ecumenical Encounter

HEIKKI KIRKINEN

An Orthodox student, in an ecumenical encounter, is not only an individual "representing himself". He is a member of the Church and he feels responsibility for this. He has confidence in the Church in the problems of his religious life, and he is obedient to the Church and will submit himself to it as to the Body of Christ. He asks the Church what to be and do in such situations as an ecumenical encounter with members of other confessions, and will follow the line of the Church (but he can also influence that line).

No common Orthodox line

It is known that the attitude of the Orthodox Church authorities towards the ecumenical movement has been reserved, and in different independent national churches quite different. Some regard this movement as a pan-Protestant effort, which serves Protestant aims and in which the Orthodox participants are like guests of honour without any possibility of real influence on the general line of its work. Some see dogmatic obstacles to participation, and warn others of the danger of heresy. Some accept ecumenism in principle, but will not take any responsibility in it, remaining quite passive, and only "answering when asked" about any form of the work. But some at least have contributed to the ecumenical movement in responsible participation.

Until now, there has been no common Orthodox line in ecumenical work. The Church as a whole has not yet pronounced on this question, and this makes difficult the participation and

action of Orthodox students in the movement. They themselves have not had enough experience in it, but when they ask for the experience of the Church, they do not get a common answer. Therefore, Orthodox young people are often uncertain and reserved; they do not know what they can do and how they can best contribute, as members of the Church, to the common cause of Christianity in the ecumenical effort. Young people from different national churches often differ in their attitude towards and view of it.

Unfamiliar "ecumenical environment"

Then the "ecumenical environment" is unknown to so many Orthodox students. They live in the Church, where unity is a fact. They live this unity of the Church in the same faith, in participation in the same liturgy and worship, and in the same structure of the Church, in which unity claims accommodation, submission to the Body of Christ. All this is natural for them. Therefore it is a confusing experience to come to an ecumenical encounter, to an environment where unity is only an ideal, where the majority are Protestant, where all kinds of divisions sweep over them, and where the whole spirit, the "climate", is so different from that to which they are accustomed. Their first reactions are easily negative. They see already that the meaning of unity is so different. For the Orthodox, submission to a common rule and authority is necessary in a society like the Church, and it is the practical condition of unity. But for a Protestant friend all submission in the religious life is repugnant, if it is against his personal interpretation of doctrine or of the Christian life. The liberty of teaching and life are above all the greatest values. The Orthodox student asks: "How can you combine real unity with that"? The Protestant view of unity seems to him theoretical rather than practical. And a second contradiction seems to surprise an Orthodox newcomer to the ecumenical encounter: so many Protestant Churches already have their own supreme authorities and fixed doctrines, traditions, and confessional books, but in principle they reject all this, especially for the Christian body as a whole.

"Protestantism" of the ecumenical movement

One of the first impressions is that the Protestant way of thinking leaves its mark on the whole ecumenical discussion and action. The crushing Protestant majority guides the movement as it wills. Protestants often act as if the whole ecumenical problem was only one between different Protestant views. For an Orthodox, Protestantism is already a whole, a unity which has its clear characteristics. The divisions within it seem unessential, and real ecumenism begins only when Protestantism meets Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. But the Protestant environment does not yet seem prepared for that. The majority of Christians are non-Protestant, but ecumenical work maintains a Protestant structure and methods. Here is one more contradiction. It is not only the fault of Protestants, but also of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic world. However, some young people ask whether the ecumenical movement, begun in so admirable a way by some Protestant and Orthodox leaders, has not become too rigid and fixed in its structures, so that it hinders the spread of the real ecumenical idea in the Orthodox and Roman Catholic world. Frankly speaking, some people see only two possibilities for the future of the ecumenical movement: either to leave the present organizations and structures as a Protestant ecumenical effort, hoping that the divided Protestant world may find unity, and then create a new organization for the ecumenical work between the three main "streams" of Christianity: Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, and Protestantism; or that the present organizations can transform themselves little by little, prepare the Protestant world for the real ecumenical encounter with the Orthodox and Roman Catholic world, and get these two churches really represented in the structure, methods, and action of the movement. Actually, the guiding principles in organization and action are geographical rather than confessional, which does not seem to be a wholly ecumenical principle. The structure of the movement is, I think, one of the factors which make the Orthodox authorities so reserved towards ecumenical work in general. And Orthodox young people feel that they are so

alone in an ecumenical encounter that they seem to glide along as on an unknown flood which does not carry them to the goal.

Theoretical discussions

A further impression of an Orthodox student in an ecumenical meeting is that the speeches and discussions on questions of faith are often of a too theoretical and rationalistic character. Many times even Orthodox speakers are drawn into this way of thinking. The themes are chosen from the point of view of the majority, and the arguments are as "scientific" as possible, in the modern meaning of that term. For example, when dealing with tradition, the themes set up a mechanical opposition: "Bible and tradition" or "Authority of tradition". Many young people hope for more practical themes from the ecumenical point of view, for example, "The traditions of different churches" or "Tradition as a uniting factor in the Church". In this sense the choice of themes was very positive at the 1956 meeting of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius in Lund: "Church fathers and the unity of the Church", "Mother of God and the unity of the Church", etc. In so many problems the Orthodox believer does not search so much for a theological and scientific argument as for the practical meaning of special points of faith or expressions of life in the Church. For example, take again the question of authority: the main question is not whether an ecumenical council can be mistaken or not, but the practical necessity of such councils for the unity of the Church. In so many encounters the problems raised are strange for an Orthodox student and seem for him to be of minor importance, while the main points are passed over.

One-sided working methods

The actual working methods are sometimes one-sided from the Orthodox point of view. There are excellent methods in ecumenical youth work like Bible study, work camps, etc. But when, for example, Bible study is led only by Protestant theologians, there is generally a clearly Protestant line in the inter-

pretation of the holy book. When I asked, "Why do you not use two Bible study leaders, one Protestant and one non-Protestant?", I was told that the Bible is the same for Protestants and Orthodox and that only a Christian interpretation is given, not a confessional one. I could not agree, because there is no "only Christian" interpretation of the Bible: the explanation is always confessional, even when it is very individual. This does not mean, naturally, that I have not heard very good Bible studies led by Protestant theologians.

There is also the great eagerness for politics, which an Orthodox believer sometimes finds a little exaggerated and one-sided. I would not say that a Christian should not take part in the life of earthly society, but that in Christian and ecumenical work we should perhaps think more about what is most important in that work, so that we do not divide our forces too much. And politics are often an ambiguous and dangerous matter, although sometimes a Christian answer to a political problem can be helpful.

"Ecumenical worship"

Another point is "ecumenical worship". For the Orthodox, the same worship, the common eucharistic service through the centuries, is an expression of the unity of the Church and a practical means for keeping it in the concrete religious life of the people. An Orthodox believer feels that with him the whole Church is praying in the same words and hymns, the Church of the first centuries, the Church Triumphant and even the heavenly hosts. This concrete feeling of unity disappears when he is present in an ecumenical service, where the forms are mixtures of so many different elements and ages, and are often improvised. The same original worship is a unifying factor and does not hinder the individual prayer, but the latter is not considered as important as in the Protestant world, where the general direction now seems to be towards still greater incoherence in worship, and it is very difficult for Protestants to understand the practical meaning of the same worship accepted by the whole Church.

Protestant concern for unity and action

All these general impressions represent only one side of the reactions of an Orthodox student in the ecumenical encounter. He receives so many impressions that he cannot easily analyze them. But what he must always admire in such encounters is the great concern for unity and the great energy with which the Protestant young people are working for it. After the Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston I asked myself whether we Orthodox are not too indifferent to this problem of the whole of Christianity. I asked: "Is not Christianity already a kind of a whole, a real, special group in mankind, having its own special characteristics? And if this is so why do we not accept this fact and act as a whole? Are the divisions between Christians really deeper than those between Christians and non-Christians?" The enthusiasm of our Protestant brothers in the work for unity is like a conscience constantly reminding us Orthodox of the importance of this work.

In religious thinking we feel that Protestants are too theoretical, but in action they are the most practical. Their practical side finds its manifestation in organizational activities, where Orthodox are often like apprentices. While we Orthodox, suspicious and careful, are still wondering whether this or that action can be taken, the Protestants, with great energy, are beginning to create an organization for it and taking the action. It is true that this activity can be superficial and even egotistic, but it is living and hopeful, and often self-giving.

The brotherhood of Christians

In ecumenical youth meetings, spontaneous friendship and the real brotherhood of all participants, regardless of their confession, is characteristic. Everyone tries to understand the others and love them as neighbours. The feeling of belonging together is strong. If the churches cannot realize the unity of Christians, at least many individuals can come to the side of other Christians and try to help them. The Orthodox, who speak so often about love, must also remember that love and

separation cannot go together. Naturally this living together has its limits, and an Orthodox student cannot participate in the common prayer forms, for example, the Eucharistic Liturgy, in a real sense, if these forms have not the same sanctity which his faith claims. But living together with others in the practical field of Christian life must not be excluded for him.

Responsible Orthodox participation in the ecumenical movement

Orthodox students and other young people who have participated in ecumenical encounters are, I think, convinced that ecumenical work is not only Protestant and that its motives are not only egotistical. They feel that many times the Orthodox have been too suspicious. Now, in principle most Orthodox authorities accept co-operation in the practical area, but the Orthodox will not take much responsibility for this co-operation between Christians. This can be easily explained: when the majority in the common organizations is Protestant, responsible participation means joint responsibility for Protestant expressions of the common work. How often the declarations made by ecumenical bodies are such that the Orthodox participants cannot accept them, and yet they are compelled to let them come out as common. Or responsible participation can lead to difficulties over the doctrinal basis of the work. But this dilemma of responsible participation should be settled together. If the Protestant majority really wants responsible co-operation with the Orthodox, it should be careful not to be one-sided and lead the work in the direction of the majority only. It should encourage the Orthodox to take responsibility in the movement and show that theirs is not only a nominal cooperation in the work. Individual Protestants are freer than the Orthodox in doctrinal questions, and therefore they often cannot understand the greater importance attached to basic doctrinal agreements by the Orthodox. Here they should make a greater effort of understanding. And the Orthodox should in turn also try to understand his Protestant brother, and have confidence and courage to take responsibility in the common work. Passive participation is more noxious than non-participation. The weakness of the Ortho-

dox contribution to ecumenical work is also caused by the weakness of internal organization in the Orthodox world. The first step needed is agreement among the Orthodox as to the common line to be taken in ecumenical matters. Then the Orthodox contribution could be much more forceful. Perhaps the young generation can accomplish this.

Hope for the future

The Orthodox are often pessimistic about the future and results of ecumenical work. They say that no progress has been made on doctrinal problems, that divisions still exist, and that even on basic questions there is no agreement. Rivalry, envy, and proselytism still exist in Christianity, even in the churches and organizations involved in ecumenical work. But the Protestants are still optimistic. They see the difficulties, but they will fight and win. Many times their faith in the ecumenical movement can fortify the faith of the Orthodox. I have left many ecumenical encounters more optimistic than when I came.

The Orthodox student suffers from the division of Christianity and he will help to find again its unity. He feels a responsibility for all Christians, and will contribute to co-operation between them, especially in the social and practical areas of common Christian life. He hopes that the three great branches of Christianity — Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant — will some time find a way to closer contact and mutual love, and to full unity.

Worship in the Ecumenical Movement

An Orthodox View

ALEXANDER SCHMEMANN

Ecumenical encounter through worship

To understand the very special function of worship in the ecumenical movement, as well as the attitude of the Orthodox Churches towards it, one must first of all keep in mind the unusual, the unprecedented, character of the ecumenical encounter itself.

What do we mean when we speak of this "encounter"? Obviously it is not only the theological dialogue, the slow and painful formulation of doctrinal "agreements" and "disagreements" in the hope that the former will increase and the latter decrease in number. Theology is a function within the Church, but it is not the Church herself, yet what we hope for in the ecumenical movement is an "encounter" of the churches, their encounter in life and faith, and not merely in reflections about their life and faith. Furthermore, it is not only the fact of their cooperation in various spheres of Christian activity. For valuable and essential as it is to the ecumenical relationship, this cooperation as such does not constitute an "encounter", but can either prepare it, or be its natural fruit. An encounter implies — and this is probably the real essence and also the uniqueness of the ecumenical experience — that behind and beyond the theological definitions and mere practical or friendly contacts, we meet each other in the very depth and reality of our religious experience. Thus, we can know much about a man, we can know what he thinks and believes, but no encounter takes place unless we meet the man himself and, from this personal knowledge, grasp the meaning of his thoughts and beliefs. We discover then that the words which formulate those beliefs,

although adequate and true, do not convey their whole, and probably their most important, content, and that only in the light of the personal encounter do they acquire their genuine dimensions. If this example is true, then the ecumenical encounter, that is, the encounter of churches (and not only of "representatives", "delegates", and "officers") takes place in and through worship. If the ecumenical movement is a religious event, and not an academic or philanthropic enterprise, it necessarily has its roots in, and lives by, an encounter that must be termed liturgical.

The Orthodox are not alone today in defending and proclaiming the central function of worship, of the *liturgia*, in the life of the Church. Nearly thirty years of liturgical movement in practically all Christian denominations, a revival of liturgical studies, the biblical and the theological evidence — all this points to one conclusion: in worship the Church expresses herself, her faith and doctrine, her life and nature in a unique and living synthesis so that to know the Church (and not only about the Church) one has to grasp and to understand her *liturgia*, to see her as the "praying Church" — the *Ecclesia orans*.

But at this point two questions must be raised, both of vital importance for ecumenical relations. First, how can such a "liturgical encounter" take place within the ecumenical movement, be its essential factor and inspiring force? And, second, what is here the "function" of Orthodox participants in the ecumenical movement? The answer to the second question naturally presupposes the solution of the first one.

Liturgical encounter

The liturgy is the act through which the Church reveals, expresses, and actualizes her nature, that is, her unity, her faith, her organic communion with the Body of Christ. How then can it "function" within a movement whose first "reality" is that of division and separation? The ecumenical movement exists only because of the division among Christians, as a way of healing and overcoming it, as a movement towards union and unity, but not as unity, as *Una Sancta*. Logically speaking, the liturgical encounter (and we speak here of worship, that is,

of corporate liturgical action, and not only of praying together) is then impossible, for it would be an unjustified anticipation of a unity which has not yet been achieved. One cannot over-emphasize the fact that in the ecumenical movement the painful experience of division is as necessary and vital as that of the fundamental belief in the Church, as Unity. It is only when we discover the true dimensions of our divisions, that the concept of unity acquires its real meaning. Therefore, there are two general answers to this first question concerning the liturgical encounter. For some the degree of unity which we find in the ecumenical movement — our common belief in Christ as God and Saviour in the Church, the Sacraments and the Word of God — justify a common worship, and include intercommunion (that is, a common partaking of the Eucharist) and not only justify it but make it absolutely necessary. For the ecumenical movement, if it cannot be identified with the *Una Sancta*, is nevertheless the progressive "actualization" of a fundamental unity, that is, of the one Church, that has never been broken. In this view the Church transcends all human expressions of her nature and all historical institutions. The goal of the ecumenical movement is to make visible and efficient her unity, which invisibly exists already, although for centuries it has been sinfully obscured by historical divisions. Consequently and naturally the partisans of such an ecumenical experience put "intercommunion" at the very centre of their hope and see in it the only possible form of the ecumenical "encounter in worship".

The Church is Christ

This position, however, has always been rejected and opposed by the Orthodox Churches which take part in the ecumenical movement, and there is no need to explain at length the reasons of this opposition. They are all rooted ultimately in the Orthodox doctrine of the Church which, as is explained in other essays, *identifies* the Orthodox Church with the One, True and Undivided Church of Christ. This "ecclesiological absolutism" of the Orthodox Church has been often misunderstood and misinterpreted. And it may be

precisely by referring to the liturgical experience of Orthodoxy that this misunderstanding can be partly cleared up, just as it is in the Orthodox concept of the "praying church" that one must find the Orthodox position on the place of worship in ecumenical movement.

To those who do not know Orthodoxy from within, the statements of Orthodox participants in the ecumenical movement about the holiness and the infallibility of the Church, her unbroken apostolic succession, and the absolute character of her doctrine, as eternal norm for all theological discussions etc., sometimes seem very "abstract", almost a product of human pride, an undue "absolutizing" of relative values. But what is too often overlooked is the fact that for the Orthodox his experience of the Church, and therefore the doctrine of the Church, is given or revealed primarily in the liturgical experience. The Church is, above all, a sacramental reality. This means that the whole of her visible structure: the hierarchy, the canonical norms, the worship, the doctrines, are but means of "actualization" and "representation" (making present) Christ in his saving acts: the Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, and Glorification. The Church is Christ in his giving of himself to men, so that her "absolute" character is always ascribed to him, not to men. All this is made real, fulfilled, conveyed to us in the Eucharist, the centre and the climax of all worship, for it is in the Eucharist that the human congregation acquires the true ecclesiastical dimension — becomes and represents the Body of Christ.

No possibility of intercommunion

It is this sacramental or eucharistic nature of the Orthodox Church that, on the one hand, makes worship the central expression of her life and unity, and therefore puts it also at the centre of her testimony to the non-Orthodox, but, on the other hand, excludes any possibility of "intercommunion", for the Church which finds its expression in the Eucharist cannot but be the glorious Body of Christ, the "theandric" fellowship of God and men, the One, Catholic and Apostolic Church. Her very nature — that of a Sacrament of Christ — requires

that the visible sign of the invisible reality, that is, the hierarchical order, the doctrine, the tradition be adequate to this reality, be capable of expressing it, and, therefore the result of the divine will in the Church. The Orthodox cannot accept any "relativism" concerning the Church, because for them it would destroy the very foundation of her existence and life — to be the "Incarnation expanded and communicated".

This is therefore the paradox and the tragedy of Orthodox participation in the ecumenical movement. The most "liturgical" of all Christian bodies, for which the liturgy is the full and the unique expression of Christian fellowship, the ultimate mean of the Church's life, this very body has to oppose the "liturgical encounter" and to withdraw from all attempts at intercommunion.

And yet we feel that this tragedy, of which we are fully aware, can have a positive meaning for the progress of the ecumenical movement. For nowhere do we realize more what it means to be divided than at the altar, at the table of the Lord. Nowhere is the sin and depth of the disunion felt more than here. And since the ecumenical movement can have no other ultimate goal than real and full unity, it may be by deepening this experience that we come closer and closer to an anticipation of what unity will be when it is fulfilled at the Messianic banquet of the Lord, in the total, joyful, and blessed communion of all of us with him and with each other.

Bible and Tradition in the Orthodox Church

JEAN MEYENDORFF

The veneration of the Bible is apparent to anyone with no more than a superficial acquaintance with the Byzantine liturgical offices as now used by the whole Orthodox Church, or with the other traditional rites whether Western or Eastern. This veneration means more than the solemn reading of biblical passages, the constant repetition of verses from the Psalms and the daily singing of hymns from the Old and New Testaments ; it means the adoration of the Bible as a book : the censing and kissing of the Gospel, processions in which the Holy Book has the place of honour and represents Christ himself revealed in his Word. And yet the first reaction of a Reformed Christian in the presence of historical Orthodoxy is a feeling of sympathetic curiosity — the Orthodox are also non-Roman ! — and of reserve in the presence of many practices which seem to him so foreign to the biblical revelation, and are nearly as numerous as the abuses which the Reformers condemned in the Roman Church ! Has the Eastern Christian really betrayed the Scriptures, and has he in fact replaced them by human traditions, while he offers a gilt-bound copy for the adoration of the faithful ?

We cannot answer this question affirmatively except by ignoring the explicit and multiple declarations made by the Orthodox Church itself on the necessary difference existing between Tradition, which, while not being explicit in Scripture derives essentially from the Apostles themselves and is an integral part of Revelation, and the human forms which have marked the life of the Church in the course of history, and which, although they are often very venerable, have still the relative character of every purely historical phenomenon. These human traditions, essentially local, are particularly numerous in worship which, in so far as it is popular, necessarily reflects the particular culture of those who practise it, while remaining quite foreign to others : "Customs which do not deny the faith nor contradict any common and universal decision, may be

legally preserved by some without causing others to be condemned who do not use them." This principle, enunciated by Photius in the ninth century, was often restated, and is to be found notably in the answer of the synod of Constantinople to Leo XIII in 1895.

It is clear then that neither the beards of the Eastern clergy nor the purely Byzantine ornaments of a liturgy developed in the Middle Ages constitute in themselves the tradition of the Church : they only constitute a local and by no means compulsory manifestation of it. Before we look at the part played by "sacred tradition" itself, we must distinguish it from human traditions, which are reprehensible when they are treated as absolutes, and when they make a screen between the Word of God and the faithful, but which are also necessary as expressions of the life of the Church in different historical situations. It is not these human traditions which concern us now, but Tradition which, according to the Orthodox Church, reflects not the inevitable diversity of the Christian world, but the union of the faithful of Christ in a common obedience to a unique Revelation.

Formation of the canon

The fulfilment of the whole history of the Old Testament, Christ Jesus, is "he of whom it was spoken in the law and the prophets" (John I : 45) ; it is equally his person, his work, his death, and his resurrection, which are the sole object of the apostolic witness. The preaching of the disciples proclaimed to the world a historic event which happened "under Pontius Pilate", at a determined date in a definite setting : this unique event brought salvation once and for all, with no need of additions, and with no other way of benefiting from it but by hearing the Word of God proclaimed by his witnesses. The Church is called "apostolic" by reference to these witnesses, and this adjective is used to make plain that the doctrine of the Church is in no way different from that of Christ's immediate disciples.

In the light of these facts they set up during the first four centuries the "canon of Scripture" in which they included, alongside the inspired literature of the Jews proclaiming the

Messiah, the written evidence of those who had seen the risen Lord with their own eyes and who could write down for the Church the very words of the Master, faithfully interpreting his teaching. This progressive definition of the canon of Scripture was made within the Church and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit promised by the Saviour to his Church. The Church had only to define a canon, not to compose inspired writings: these writings owed their authority to the fact that they had been composed by the ocular witnesses of Christ. The Church only witnessed to their apostolic authenticity, an authenticity understood moreover in a very wide sense: the Gospels of Luke and Mark, for instance, not being composed by a member of the college of the Twelve, were considered by the oldest tradition of the Church to represent the evidence of Peter or Paul; similarly those who doubted the Pauline authenticity of the Epistle to the Hebrews did not mean that it should be rejected from the canon because they had no doubt that it was covered by Paul's authority. The Church never suggested, on the other hand, that anything besides apostolic writings should be included, and it threw out the Doctrine of the Apostles and the Shepherd of Hermas which some communities thought to be part of the New Testament.

Scripture is completed by Tradition

The history of the formation of the canon shows us very clearly the respective roles of Scripture and Tradition of which the Church is the guardian. The Bible is an integral piece of witness for Christ, but the Church defines the limits of true Revelation: it must therefore possess a criterion of judgment independent of Scripture. This criterion is the Spirit sent by the Lord Christ himself, still united with the disciples (Matt. 28: 20). There is no other revelation but that which was given us in Jesus, and the Church can add nothing to that, but she remains "the pillar and foundation of truth" (I Tim. 3: 15). The Church, being the community of those who have received the salvation brought by concrete historical events, can have no other foundation than "the apostles and the prophets" (Eph. 2: 20) which witnessed to "that which they have heard, which

they have seen with their eyes, which their hands have touched" (John 16 : 13), but this salvation of which they are witnesses has precisely this result of bringing God to live among us and of causing the Spirit to "guide us into all truth" (John 16 : 13).

We have just said that Scripture contained the entirety of the apostolic witness. This entirety is not a verbal entirety : the Word of Life is not like a theological encyclopedia which only has to be opened at the right page for the desired information to be found, exhaustively treated. Modern exegesis discovers, for instance, more and more that the essential Christian truths, such as the doctrine of the Church or of the sacraments, are not treated directly but are taken as known by the sacred text. Jesus' speech about the heavenly bread, about the young vine or about "the water springing up unto eternal life" — even if the sacramental interpretation of these passages is not the only possible one — do they not lose much of their realism if we completely ignore the fact that Christians in the first century practised Baptism and Eucharist ? For this reason we can say that materially Scripture, while still being a witness which is complete in itself, may also be completed by tradition. "Among the doctrines and the sermons (*kerygmata*) preserved by the Church, "wrote St. Basil in the fourth century", we hold some from written teaching, and we have collected others transmitted sacramentally from apostolic tradition. They all have the same value for devotion, none is contrary. For if we were to try to put on one side unwritten customs as having no great force, we should, unknown to ourselves, be weakening the Gospel at the essential places ; much more, we should be transforming the preaching into mere word." He continues by quoting the example of the rites of Christian initiation and of the Eucharist ¹.

The infallibility of the Church

The Orthodox and the Reformed can, I think, find ways of understanding one another when it is not only a question of reading between the lines of the holy text to find the exact meaning (for that, after all, is just one method of exegesis).

¹ *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, XXVII.

It is more difficult for the Protestants to justify a definitive interpretation of Scripture by the Church where there is disagreement on a fundamental point of the Christian message. What is in question here is indeed the very nature of the Church and especially its infallibility. For the Orthodox it is indeed evident that the New Covenant, just because it was concluded once for all with the New Israel and admits no evolution, no progress, and no development, implies God's faithfulness to his Church, and in consequence the permanent existence, in the intermediary time in which we live and which prepares for the second coming of the Lord, of a unique Church, the guardian of the Covenant: "For he wished to present it in splendour, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, that she might be holy and without blemish" (Eph. 5 : 27). The existence of this Church is a perfectly free gift from God, and its infallibility is in no sense deserved by those who compose it, but is solely the consequence of the fact that God indwells her. All the members of the Church, every Christian community may succumb to sin as well as to error, but through that very fact they cut themselves off from the Church and must be reunited afresh by penitence. There is therefore no "organ of infallibility" other than the Spirit who himself chooses the appropriate way of causing truth to triumph.

The most normal way, but far from the only way, between the fourth and the eighth centuries was the Ecumenical Council, but certain quite essential dogmas were able to be defined by the age-long use of the Church (the sacraments, the hierarchy) or by local councils universally accepted.

Scripture and dogma

Let us try to define a little more precisely the relation of these dogmas to Scripture.

The question was debated in the fourth century when there was drawn up the Nicene Creed which was to divide Orthodox and Aryans on the problem of Christ's divinity. Both parties obviously used Scripture to defend their point of view. The Orthodox having triumphed drew up the Creed, taking great care only to use scriptural terms, and it was with great difficulty that Athanasius of Alexandria succeeded in including a word

(*homoousios* — of one substance) which was outside the vocabulary of the Bible. This episode illustrates, on the one hand, the care taken by the Fathers to use biblical terms for safety's sake, and, on the other their skill in safeguarding "the liberty of the children of God" and in defining a dogma, which they thought to be true and therefore apostolic, by using the philosophical language of their time. They were aware that they were the depositories of a living truth and were not limited to the mere repetition of biblical expressions.

The verbal freedom which the Nicean fathers demonstrated was not, however, an internal liberty in relation to the evidence of Scripture. The Orthodox Church has never proclaimed, and never will proclaim, dogmas which are not direct interpretations of the historical facts related in the Bible. Let us take a concrete and still relevant example, that of the veneration of Mary the Mother of God. For the Orthodox this veneration rests essentially on the dogma of the anti-Nestorian Council of Ephesus (431) which had in no way taken a "Mariological" decision, but had defined Christ "as consubstantial with the Father by his divinity and consubstantial with us by his humanity, for there was in him the union of two natures"; "that is why", proclaimed the Council, "we confess that there is one Christ, one Son, one Lord". The Nestorians indeed saw in Christ the existence of two distinct beings: the Son of God and a son of Mary. The Council therefore made this addition: "In relation to this union (of the two natures) we confess that the blessed Virgin is the Mother of God (*Theotokos*), for it is God the Word who took flesh and became man..." Mary was therefore the mother of this unique being who was actually in her womb.

It is clear then that we are concerned here with a manner of understanding an eminently biblical fact, the Incarnation: it is in order to express its full actuality that the Orthodox recognize in Mary the Mother of God, and consequently judge her worthy of quite exceptional veneration. On the other hand, the doctrine of her Immaculate Conception appears to them to be not only non-existent in the biblical narrative, but contrary to the traditional doctrine on original sin. The Assumption of the Virgin is something rather different: the tradition is formally written in Orthodox liturgical books and is very widely found in the

patristic writings of the Byzantine Middle Ages. But why do we need to proclaim as a dogma a miracle which Almighty God performed for the Mother of God resembling what He did for others — Scripture records the case of Elijah for instance — whereas the absence of any reference to the death and glorification of the Virgin in the Bible seems to indicate clearly that these events played no essential part in the work of salvation, and that consequently there was no need for the Word of God to recount them and guarantee their authenticity? This reserve, expressed almost unanimously by the Orthodox when the dogma of the Assumption was proclaimed, does not presuppose any denial of the corporal glorification of the Virgin, which is indeed a fairly ancient tradition, not *the* Tradition, but something which appears to be in conformity with the divine plan concerning which God "hath done great things" (Luke 1:49). It is not necessary for belief in these "great things" that they should be proclaimed to be "dogmas" of the Church.

* * *

These examples are enough to show that the Orthodox church does not at all regard Scripture and Tradition as two parallel and independent sources of Revelation. She only affirms that by leaving to the faithful a written, definitive, and complete witness about Christ, God wanted to establish an absolute criterion for the life of the Church; but the content of this life is Christ himself. By expressing the content of Scripture in conformity with the needs of various epochs, the Church simply manifests a certain adaptability to the permanent and direct working of the Spirit.

Thus we are wrong if we present Tradition as no more than a historical continuity, an appendix to the Scriptures, threatening the uniqueness of salvation. It is, in fact, a vertical opening for the action of God who in Jesus Christ has re-established intimacy with men. In this permanent divine action it cannot be a new revelation which is involved, for the whole fullness was given in Christ, but only a divine faithfulness which guides the people of God and corrects its errors: continuity, permanence, and infallibility come from the fact that in every time and place there is "one Lord, one faith, one baptism" (Eph. 4:4-5).

The Place and Significance of the Congregation in Orthodoxy

YASSA HANNA

Orthodoxy means "the straight way". Although the Orthodox Churches are traditional and hierarchical, yet they are at the same time founded on the democratic basis whereby the laity of the congregation shares in ruling, worshipping, and serving the Church. That is to say that Orthodoxy, with its rich rituals and inheritance, provides the Church of God with an established balance and union between clergy and laity, each checking, strengthening, and positively affecting the other.

This kind of relationship draws its root from the behaviour of saints and patriarchs among the early Christians who were guided in their behaviour with respect to the Church by the golden rule : "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Hence, the basic functions of the different members of the Church are fatherhood, brotherhood, and sonship.

The place and significance of the congregation in Orthodoxy — and particularly in the Coptic Orthodox Church — can be divided into three different spheres : (1) church polity ; (2) church worship ; (3) church stewardship.

I. THE ROLE OF THE CONGREGATION IN CHURCH POLITY

According to the early church canons and patristic teachings, it is the duty of the congregation to select its spiritual leaders and deputies for church administration.

Let us take the Coptic Orthodox Church as an example in order to explain how the Patriarch, bishops, and priests are chosen. .

A. *The Patriarch*

In the canons in force it is not the title of "Patriarch" which is given to the head of the Church, but simply that of Bishop of Alexandria. In the canons, the head is called the senior bishop, the prime bishop, and the archbishop.

The Coptic Patriarch never claimed infallibility. He is elected by an assembly of bishops, priests, and elders from among the laity representing all the congregation. Candidates for the Patriarchate are nominated by the majority of these priests and elders, who have to sign a document stating the merits and qualifications of their nominee before the election takes place. Among the basic qualifications are the candidate's hospitality, and social and welfare activities.

In the ordination service, the Patriarch reads St. John 10 as a vow to the congregation that "the good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep".

B. *The bishops*

It is the congregation of the diocese which selects one or more monks to be presented to the Patriarch for ordination. Two other bishops must give their consent to the final choice and assist in the ordination service.

C. *The priests (presbyters)*

The candidates for the priesthood are nominated and selected by the local congregation and presented to the bishop for ordination. The congregation has the right to stop the ordination service by proclaiming three times that the candidate is unworthy.

According to the rule laid down by the Council of Nicea (325 A.D.), the Coptic priest must be married before his ordination. At the Council, the Coptic bishops defended this rule against the claim of Rome, because of its direct impact on the congregation, who thus find better understanding of their family problems, and means of social contact in the priest's home.

D. *The deacons*

According to the Acts of the Apostles (6 : 3), it is the responsibility of the congregation to choose the deacons and to present them to the apostles (or their successors — the bishops) that they may lay their hands on them.

Deacons are ordained to help the priests and bishops in their pastoral responsibilities. At present, the majority of deacons are not full-time church-workers, as, owing to financial difficulties, they must earn their living by their secular professions and work voluntarily for the Church during their free time. They serve in the pulpit, Sunday schools, and do visitation, etc. Thus they act as a means of contact and reaction between the clergy and the congregation.

E. *The community council*

The Coptic congregation plays a very important role in the life of the Church. It largely leads all the administrative, financial, and social affairs of the Church through its general community council and its branches in all dioceses. This is a council of laymen who collaborate with the clergy in dealing with church affairs. Its members are elected by all adult Orthodox men. It has twenty-four members located in Cairo, and the diocesan councils each have five members. They are headed by the Patriarch and the bishops respectively. The functions of these councils are :

1. *Administrative* : to help the clergy in planning, controlling, and supervising the various activities of the Church.

2. *Educational* : to direct and finance church-related schools and Orthodox seminaries. Recently, they established the Coptic Institute for Coptology and Higher Studies.

3. *Social* : to organize grants for the sick and the poor, and to arrange for the welfare of the clergy, especially in old age.

4. *Financial* : to control the expenditure for church maintenance, the salaries of clergymen, and the like.

At present there is a great struggle between the general council and the bishops about monastic and church domains,

aiming at a valid organization whereby the evils of feudalism would be avoided in church administration and finance.

Among the laity there is a widespread view that clergymen should not waste their time collecting money to be spent on limited projects, while overlooking wider and more important ones.

F. *Benevolent societies*

While the community councils represent the elected high polity of the congregation, there is a wide scope for influencing public opinion through the church benevolent societies. These societies take the initiative in building churches and hospitals, establishing schools, orphanages, hostels, youth centres, and Sunday schools. There are more than 350 such societies in Cairo, and one or more in every town. These societies act as unions, raising the voice of the congregation in major matters.

Also, recently, with the greater development of Sunday schools, some of their leaders have come to hold responsible and influential church positions, thus affecting church public opinion.

II. THE ROLE OF THE CONGREGATION IN CHURCH WORSHIP

A. *During liturgical services*: the service is conducted by three main groups: (1) the priest; (2) the deacons; (3) the congregation. Almost every prayer is followed by a response from the congregation. The Liturgy itself is composed of two main parts: the first, called the "catechumenal Liturgy", consists of five lections and a sermon for teaching the laity. The same rule is applied in all other liturgical services, such as those of the seven sacraments and the festal services.

Common prayers in Orthodoxy aim at uniting the whole church assembly, each member forgetting his individuality and forming with the others a communion of saints in the Divine Presence. This means that the whole body of the Church militant on earth is joining the Church victorious in heaven

to compose a symphony of praise to the Lord, whose Divine Presence is filling the place.

To help the congregation reach this state, the main body of the Liturgy starts with a prayer of absolution and reconciliation, followed by the "kiss of peace", which is an act of forgiveness from each member of the congregation to the others and to the officiating priest. Then the latter asks : "Where are your hearts ?", to which the congregation replies : "They are with the Lord". And as the priest thus initiates the prayer of praise, the congregation follows in singing : "The cherubim worship thee, and the seraphim glorify thee : continually do cry, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth ; heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory."

At the end, the glory of the Lord is fully revealed through the partakers of the Holy Communion, and the priest expresses the significance of the congregation, young and old, as he utters : "Our mouths have been filled with joy and our tongues with hallelujahs for having partaken of thy everlasting sacrament, O Lord. For that which no eye has ever seen, nor ear ever heard, nor human heart ever felt. For what thou hast prepared for those who love thy holy name, and declared unto the young children of thy holy church. Yea, O Father, that is the gladness thou hast set before thyself, for thou are merciful, and we raise up to thee glory and praise, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

To encourage the members of the congregation to take their part in the service, the Church offers them :

1. A program of Christian education for Sunday school children and youth groups, in order to develop a wholesome understanding of church worship and acquaint them with the hymnal and its music.

2. Worship books, especially the *Evkhologion* for the liturgical service, and the *Horlogion*, which is the book of the seven daily prayers as selected from the Psalms. These books are handed to the worshippers in order that they may follow the service and share in it.

B. During the non-liturgical services, conducted mostly in the evenings, the congregation shares in all the program.

III. THE ROLE OF THE CONGREGATION IN CHURCH STEWARDSHIP

The significance of the congregation in Orthodoxy extends beyond the church buildings, as the members participate in the life of their particular community. After the Sunday service is over, it is customary for the whole congregation, especially in villages, to have breakfast or refreshments in the church hall or yard. This practice is an extension of the social structure of the early Church, and is followed by a joint visit of the laity and the deacons to the sick and the absentees. Such social gatherings are accentuated on important occasions such as the feasts and memorials of saints and martyrs. Some churches, dedicated to famous saints, have to plan for pilgrimages on such occasions, and the church authorities and lay associations arrange hospitality for the visitors, while devoted Christians and youth leaders work out extensive religious revivals and social programs which sometimes last for a couple of weeks.

Moreover, it is upon the congregation that the finances for the needs of the church, including pastoral expenses, depend. Every Sunday, collections are made for this purpose, in addition to donations from members of the congregation, whether in return for special services rendered by the church or as assistance to promote some church projects and activities. Usually these offerings take the form of gifts at Christmas and Easter.

At present, the young generation is trying to establish a registered church membership which would allow the clergy a better planned financial settlement, and provide them with new possibilities for dealing with important projects for the furtherance of church activities. It is also through the activities of these young people that Bible classes have been established, that Sunday school branches have spread in every village, and the ecumenical way of thinking has been started, mainly in the field of evangelism. However, all these efforts have won only partial recognition from some church officials.

It is worth mentioning here that many university professors are joining the Coptic Institute for Higher Studies, either as lecturers or as students, the revival of classical Coptic and

historical studies having become one of the influential factors of progress in the Coptic Church, whereby the learned and well-to-do people acquaint themselves with the true picture of their Church.

Another progressive factor is the role played by women in the Coptic Church. Women leaders form women's associations, plan anti-illiteracy campaigns, and hold meetings for family life and women's work.

Recently Orthodox and ecumenical conferences, held in churches and led by cooperative councils of clergy and laymen, have aimed to extend the church's activities to all aspects of life. These newly developed schools of thought have fixed centres, mainly in university cities.

Finally, we can sum up the significance of the congregation by describing it as the body of the Church, while the church hierarchy is its head. The congregation helps the pastor and cooperates with the hierarchy in all fields of Christian service and stewardship.

In *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, Charles Bigg speaks of the congregation thus: "The fidelity with which the Alexandrians adhered to the ancient democratic model may be due in part to the social standing and intelligence of the congregation. The same reason may account for their immunity from many of the ecclesiastical storms of the time."

Russian Orthodoxy Today

PAUL B. ANDERSON

Relations of Moscow Patriarchate with neighbouring Orthodox Churches

On May 30, 1957, in the Church of the Transfiguration in Moscow, a Chinese Archimandrite, Vasili Shuan, was consecrated a bishop of the Orthodox Church. Returning to the orient a fortnight later, he assumed his duties as Bishop of Peking and Head of the Orthodox Church in China. No Russian bishops remain in China, not even in Harbin, which previously had been the seat of an archbishop with a far-flung organization of bishops and clergy serving the large Russian colonies along the Chinese Eastern Railway and in China proper, as well as the mission for Chinese converts. Now the Russian Bishop Victor has turned over authority to Bishop Shuan and the mission has become an autonomous Orthodox Church.

Russian missionaries in the early nineteenth century also founded Orthodox Churches in Korea and Japan, but normal relations between the Patriarchate and these churches were broken off after the Revolution. During this period relations with the Orthodox Church in Finland were also severed, the latter having unilaterally declared its separation from Moscow and received recognition by the Patriarch of Constantinople, as an autonomous national church. This situation was relieved, however, when on April 30, 1957, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church decided to "pass over to oblivion all the canonical quarrels and misunderstandings between the Finnish Orthodox Church and the Russian Orthodox Church" and "to recognize the *status quo* of the Finnish Autonomous Orthodox Church under the Patriarchate of Constantinople". This action was accepted by the Finnish Church on May 7. Since the Russian Patriarchate had previously recognized auto-

cephalicity of the Orthodox Churches in Poland and Czechoslovakia, one can say that normal relations have now been established with all the Orthodox Churches contiguous to Soviet territory.

The previously independent Churches of Estonia and Latvia are now incorporated in the Soviet Union. The ancient Orthodox Church of Georgia, which is also within the boundaries of the Union, is recognized as autocephalous, although in practice it is seldom given that distinction. The Moscow Patriarchate still has a mission in Jerusalem, Israel, an archbishop in Paris, with parishes in France, Belgium, Holland, and England, and a bishop in New York, who supervises about a dozen parishes in the United States.

Relations of Moscow Patriarchate with Russian diaspora

Relations with the Russian diaspora have shown very little tendency towards reconciliation. Whether the result of the appeal to return, issued by the Moscow Patriarchate in 1956, or as a response to the political appeal of the back-to-the-homeland organization under General Michailoff in Berlin, or the effect of the nostalgic urge to Moscow so well portrayed in *The Cherry Garden*, several hundred former émigrés have returned to Russia, including a few priests. Their departure has not weakened the stand of the Russian bishops and their flocks abroad, who refuse to have administrative relationships with Moscow on the grounds that the Patriarchate is not free. The "Russian Synod abroad" in New York, headed by the Most Reverend Metropolitan Anastassy, has twenty-three active bishops, four retired bishops, and about 400 priests in North America, with others in South America, Western Europe, Jordan, and Australia. Most of the Russian Orthodox in France, which is still the intellectual and theological centre of the Russian diaspora, belong to the jurisdiction of Metropolitan Vladimir who, like the Finnish Church, has the protection of the Patriarch of Constantinople. St. Sergius Theological Institute in Paris is under Metropolitan Vladimir, and so also is the Russian Student Christian Movement outside Russia, which has had such highly significant influence in the Federation, the YMCA and,

through its intimate connection with St. Sergius, on the ecumenical movement generally.

Quite an exceptional position is held by the jurisdiction of Metropolitan Leonty, in New York, who is recognized as head of the great body of Russian Orthodox faithful who were settled in North America before the arrival of the "D.P.s" — persons displaced from the Western borders of Russia during World War II. Metropolitan Leonty's flock consists largely not of immigrants but of second, third, or even fourth generation American citizens, most of whom do not know the Russian language. They are in fact as fully integrated into American life and culture as are the Lutheran Swedes and Germans or the Italian Catholics who came during the same epoch. They are doctors, lawyers, engineers, publishers, army officers, professors in the great universities. For many of them it is a question of conscience as well as intelligence as to how long their church in America must be a "Russian" church. In fact, a strong move is underway among them, and among the faithful Orthodox Serbs, Greeks, Romanians and Syrians, for the Americanization of the entire Orthodox body in the United States, variously estimated at from three and a half to five million souls. Such a step would conform to canonical practice, but, as in the case of China, Finland, etc., it would require the assent of the mother church. A complicating factor is that, in this case, there are half a dozen mother churches whose assent must be secured.

Requirements for autocephalicity

The canonical requirements for autocephalicity come down to a very simple rule — that the young church hold the Orthodox faith in its purity, that it is organized and administered in accordance with Eastern Orthodox practice, and that there is evidence of a dynamic quality to maintain untarnished this faith and practice. Going into detail, this would mean true translation into the colloquial of the liturgy and other services, a well developed system of catechetical and theological education, a literature for theological study and popular edification, and monastic establishments to ensure qualified candidates for the episcopacy (only monks can be consecrated bishops).

There is, of course, the risk and danger that Orthodoxy will become diluted when it is a minority church cast in the midst of Catholics, Protestants, and people of no faith. A protective measure of great effect is the continued use of the mother tongue — Russian, Greek, etc., — in the liturgy, in administering the sacraments, and in theological education. The Greeks insist on this. The Russian Orthodox Church, as above, has recognized the canonicity and potency of the languages of the new autonomous Churches. Yet anyone acquainted with either Russian or Greek will admit that it will be years, decades, perhaps a century, before Orthodox using English will have produced, and not merely translated, theological books comparable to the writings of the great Chrysostomos, archbishop in Athens in the early twentieth century, or works of spiritual guidance, like those of Feofan Zatvornik (Theophanes the Hermit). As the homely proverb has it — you can't make a good pickle just by squirting vinegar on a cucumber: it must soak a long time. So there is more than selfish mother love or political pressure preventing the too rapid granting of autonomy to younger Orthodox Churches.

The Russian Orthodox Church and the state

We cannot forget, however, that the Russian Orthodox Church is under close scrutiny by all the other Orthodox at present because of the particular conditions obtaining in the Soviet Union. In some respect we have the strange paradox of a powerful church living in subjection. By far the largest in number of faithful, and very assertive in international political affairs, the Moscow Patriarchy gives evidence of trying to live up to its fifteenth century appellation of "Third Rome". Yet it was one thing for the Patriarchate in other days to reflect a government headed by an anointed Christian emperor but quite another under a government which is avowedly atheistic. Can the purity and fulness of the faith be held under such circumstances? The answer is sometimes given in line with our Lord's injunction: render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's. In other words, the Russian Church recognizes the fact that the Soviet

government is directed by a party which rejects the existence and work of God (despite the laudations of some foreign enthusiasts, who seem to equate the Soviet system with the Kingdom of Heaven), but it recognizes also that some purposes and policies of government are wholly consonant with Christian thought, and therefore worthy of support.

This position is not to be confused with the principle of loyalty, where the apostolic thesis that "all power is of God" comes into play. The Russian Church insists that it is not Erastian, saying that the constitutional principle of separation of church and state is adhered to, and the government does not claim or exercise supreme authority in church matters. Turning it the other way, leading Russian churchmen, whether Orthodox, Baptist, or Lutheran, say that they do not interfere in matters of government. At this point critics say: but you ought to. This feeling is particularly emphasized by reference to the historical record of Orthodox bishops and patriarchs who have spoken out clearly and openly when government practice has collided with Christian conscience. Perhaps the rulers of the Russian Church under the Soviets have also done so without our knowledge. Certainly something must have happened to get the government to change from the extreme hostility of the 1930s, which can rightly be called persecution, to the rather benign policy on religion characteristic of the war and post-war period. Was that something an entirely voluntary benevolence on the part of the government, or the result of protest by the bishops and faithful people?

At the same time we must consider statements made by leading bishops of the Moscow Patriarchy in support of Soviet actions at the time of the Korean war and, quite recently, when Russian tanks were suppressing liberty in Hungary. If such statements were made with full knowledge of the circumstances, then the Russian Church must face the question as to whether it really had freedom of conscience, or was constrained by duress to say what was said. The conversations during the Moscow visit of the deputation of the National Council of Churches U.S.A. and the return visit of a delegation of Russian churchmen to the United States have provided the right kind of experience for elucidation and mutual understanding on such matters.

The Russian Orthodox Church and doctrine

If it admits a certain ambivalence in its position on church-state relation, the Russian Church nevertheless vehemently denies any uncertainty in the field of doctrine. In this area there is considerable documentation, for we have the published record of discussions at the 1948 Conference of Heads of the Orthodox Churches, as well as the papers read and the verbatim report of the discussions when the Anglican theologians led by the Archbishop of York met with the Russian Orthodox theologians for ten days in 1956. In addition there are the papers read by Orthodox theologians visiting in Germany, and the considerable accumulation of theological articles and sermons which have appeared in the monthly journal of the Moscow Patriarchate since 1932.

In all of this there is evidence of a desire to adhere strictly to the doctrines as set forth in the Bible, the Nicene Creed, and the seven Ecumenical Councils. There is a strong tendency to resist new ideas in theology, revisionism, or reform. The reform movement in the 1920 s, variously called the Living Church or the Renovators, died because the Orthodox people rejected it. The *Journal* has carried articles criticizing Russian theologians abroad for being too liberal. In the 1956 Moscow theological conversations, however, attention was called to the right of theologians to develop new ideas, or to interpret ancient doctrine in the light of modern thought. Such ideas or interpretations might even be accepted by large numbers of the faithful, but they must not be confused with doctrine clearly set forth in Scripture or defined in the seven Ecumenical Councils. A new council, if truly representative of all the Orthodox Churches and accepted by all Orthodox people over a period of time, could, theoretically, supplement doctrine but could not change it.

The Russian Orthodox Church and the ecumenical movement

It is at this point that relations with the ecumenical movement in its various aspects come into play. Throughout the centuries since the Russian Church achieved autocephalicity (1448), visitors and communications have been exchanged

between East and West. Students of the subject will look up references to the efforts of the Augsburg theologians, to Peter Mogila's contacts with the West, to William Palmer and Birkbeck, and, in the early part of this century, to the records of the Russian contacts of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Union. From 1918 to 1945 such contacts were suspended — the period of the Stockholm, Lausanne, Oxford, Edinburgh, and related conferences. The Moscow Patriarchate was, so to speak, *incommunicado*. Now it is showing interest in the ecumenical movement, and there was even an attempt at an official but informal meeting with World Council of Churches' representatives, when the Hungarian crisis interfered.

In 1948 the Russian Church declined participation at Amsterdam on the grounds that the ecumenical movement was too political. Having itself entered the political arena with gusto, in the (Stockholm) Peace Movement, and, for example, on Hungary, balance is struck on this point, and the way cleared for discussions on the possibility of participation by the Russian Church in World Council affairs. The Patriarchate will probably act with caution, however, but the reason for this caution must be properly understood. Moscow church representatives will always have in mind the experience of Bishop Isidore at the Council of Florence, 1439, who gave in to the West and therefore, on his return, was thrown out by the Russian Orthodox Church. Time and again in recent conversations Russian theologians have reiterated their view that the faithful people are the bearers of Orthodox truth, and any working agreement with other churches must stand the test of their scrutiny and acceptance.

Protestant delegates must, therefore, think not only about getting along with Orthodox delegates, but of the impression made back home in Russia on a body of Christians who did not face either the Reformation or the counter-Reformation, people to whom the important things are not the sermon and Sunday school but a constant awareness of the spiritual world breaking through and combined with the material world, as in the sacraments, in miraculous events, in ikons, and in persons whose lives are lived so near to God that after death they are still permitted to do God's work in the world as canonized saints.

It will be necessary to remember that, among the Orthodox in Soviet Russia, there are twelve great church holidays, and the Feast of Our Lady of Kazan is currently so popular as almost to make a thirteenth. For the Russian Orthodox, the rich meaning of the creed, the wealth of tradition, the resounding glory of worship, the sumptuous embellishment of church edifices and of ikon corners in the home represent such a deep and wide spiritual experience that the simple Protestant logic of sin and salvation, a moralizing sermon and a calendar of events in the parish house appear very scanty indeed to express all that is meant in a religion proclaiming the Triune God.

Ancient Oriental Churches Today, their Unity and Divisions

EDWARD EVERY

Introduction

The author is not a member of one of the ancient Oriental Churches ; nor is what he writes here addressed to the members of those Churches. It is addressed to Western Christians, many of whom know nothing about these Churches, by a Western Christian who happens to know a little about them from personal experience in Constantinople, in Greece, among Russians in the emigration, and more recently in Jerusalem. Eastern Christians, and especially members of the ancient Churches, will find much here that is open to criticism and some over-simplification of complex issues. For this the author hopes to be forgiven.

What do we mean by an ancient Oriental Church ?

The term "Oriental" is used somewhat arbitrarily. From the point of view of India and China, "the Near East" should surely be called "the Near West". From the point of view of the Church in Iraq and Iran which terms itself "the Ancient Church of the East", and is generally known as the "East Syrian" or "Assyrian" Church, the rest of the Churches we call by the name Oriental, and particularly the Greek and Russian Churches, belong to Western Christendom. Even from the point of view of the Ethiopians and the Copts, the Greek appears to be quite definitely a Westerner. We call the Greek an Oriental simply because he is separated from Rome and from the West regarded as historically-speaking the family of Rome.

We use the word "ancient" with rather more logical justification to distinguish the Churches which existed centuries before the Reformation from those which either sprang into existence

or at least acquired their distinctive characteristics at the Reformation period or later. We call the Roman Catholic Church the "ancient" Western Church and the Byzantine, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian, and Syriac Churches are likewise called the "ancient" Eastern Churches. They represent and continue, in some sense, the pre-Reformation state of affairs in Christendom. Here also a word of caution is needed. From the point of view of the members of these ancient Oriental Churches, the Reformation is not a very important period in church history.

The Oriental Churches give us an impression of age more obviously than the Roman Church does with her modern organization. We have the feeling, as we look at them, that we are looking at the whole Church as it was in the distant past. The first motive for Western European interest in the Oriental Churches, after the Reformation, was the hope of finding weapons for use in the controversy between Papalists and Protestants. Where the Orientals agreed with Rome, as they did, and still do, in the broad lines of sacramental doctrine, that was considered a strong argument against the innovations of the Protestants. Where they could be shown to disagree with Rome, that was at least an argument that could be used against papal supremacy and papal infallibility. The debate continues even now. The Oriental Churches have been regarded as "fossils" or "museum-pieces", not primarily because they were stagnant and immobile, but because those who began to investigate their life were on the look-out for interesting survivals of "primitive" Christian practice.

Christians belonging to all kinds of churches and sects believe that their own faith and practice are essentially identical with those of the primitive Church and, if they do not happen to be historically minded, they tend to exaggerate the amount of likeness between the modern practice which they approve and the practice of the Christians of the first century A.D. In this respect the members of the ancient Oriental Churches are like all other conservative Christians. But they differ from Protestants in having in their past neither a Reformation nor a pre-Reformation period regarded as a period of doctrinal corruption. The members of the ancient Churches feel that, unlike Western Christendom and the part of Eastern Christendom

which received its Christianity from the West, their Churches have preserved for nineteen centuries the original form of Christianity, without any alteration, addition, or subtraction. The Western student seems to them to agree with them, at least to some extent, since he so constantly draws attention to the "primitive" features of their way of worship and their ecclesiastical organization.

The curious result is that an impression of static torpor and absence of all change, even in details, at any rate since the sixth and seventh centuries, as characteristic of all ancient Oriental Churches, has been created without having much basis in fact. These Churches are undoubtedly ancient and it is their links with the past which interest us. But they have had a history of change and adaptation to new circumstances throughout their life.

Eastern Christendom

There are long-standing divisions between the ancient Oriental Churches, which separate them into three groups.

The first and largest group is generally called the Eastern Orthodox Church. This may conveniently be subdivided into three. First of all there are the Churches in the Middle East, for the most part under the government of Moslem countries, the Patriarchate of Constantinople or Istanbul, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Alexandria and Jerusalem, the Arab-Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch (of which the centre is in Damascus) and the Church of Cyprus. Then there are the national Orthodox Churches of the Balkans, those of Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Rumania. The third sub-division is the Russian Church.

The second group consists of the Syriac-Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch (of which the centre is now at Homs in Syria), the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria (now centred in Cairo), the national Orthodox Church of the Ethiopians, and the widely-dispersed Armenian Church. This group is generally described as Monophysite.

The third group, isolated from all others historically, is the Assyrian Church, sometimes described as Nestorian.

It should be stressed that these divisions, although it is admittedly very difficult to eliminate them, are not the divisions most acutely felt in present-day Eastern Christendom. The divisions between Christians which impede the life of the Church in the Middle East today are those which divide the ancient Churches from the Roman Catholics (of the Latin and Eastern rites) and from the Protestants. The ancient Churches are, on the whole, inclined to regard one another as allies. The Monophysite and Nestorian controversies really belong to the history of the traditional Christian theology of the Incarnation. The Monophysites, teaching that Christ is "of One Nature, from two Natures", insisted on the unity of Christ in a way which seemed to others to deny either the full reality of the difference between God and man or the true humanity of Christ. The Nestorians, on the other hand, teaching that Mary is the Mother of Christ but not the Mother of God, seemed to others to insist on the distinction between the Word of God in Christ and the Man Jesus Christ in a way that would lead to Christ being regarded as *Two* rather than *One*. Greek Orthodoxy (and the Western Church also), in seeking to steer a middle course, was accused of Monophysitism by the Nestorians and of Nestorianism by the Monophysites. The controversy became political and social as well as theological, primarily through the loyalty of the native Coptic Christians of Egypt and of important Syriac-speaking elements in large parts of Syria to Monophysite divines, when they were in conflict with the civil authorities of the Eastern Roman Empire. The Church in the Persian Empire, which was Syriac-speaking, gave hospitality to Nestorian exiles from the Roman Empire and adopted their theological terminology. The Ethiopians, being in close contact with Egypt, followed the Copts. The Armenian Church, after taking no part at all in the controversy for a long time, became allied with the Monophysite Syrians and adopted their terminology with some slight differences. The controversy began in Greek. For whatever reason, when the technical theological terms were translated into Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian, the distinctions made in Greek were not exactly reproduced, with the result that the doctrines of the Greek Church were misunderstood by many people unfamiliar with Greek, while the doctrines current among the Copts and

the Syriac-speaking Christians were, at least to some extent, misconceived in the rest of Christendom, and treated as heretical without full justification. The misunderstandings involved would probably have been removed had it not been for non-theological factors.

Christianity and nationalism

Rome was the most insistent in all the Christological controversy on the sanctity of the formulations which had received her approbation. Any attempt on the part of the Eastern Roman Emperors in Constantinople to reconcile opponents of these formularies with the Church of the Empire was regarded with suspicion and hostility in Rome and Italy and in the West in general. On the other hand, the Persian Empire, being hostile to the Eastern Roman Empire, suspected its Christian minority of pro-Roman tendencies, unless and until they were out of communion with Constantinople and Rome. Armenia, being jealous of her national independence as a Christian kingdom, and the subject races of the Eastern Roman Empire in Egypt and in many parts of Syria found in loyalty to Monophysite leaders a rallying point against the claim of the Roman Emperor to authority in religious matters. Before the controversial lines had really hardened came the swift rise of Islam, which brought it about that the divisions of Eastern Christendom became national divisions.

In the eyes of the Islamic theocracy, governed on Islamic principles, the Christian Churches found by the conqueror on his arrival were, like the Jewish synagogue, tributary communities. Christians and Jews were regarded as "Peoples of the Book"; they were not idolaters and had received revelations of the true God, although their knowledge of God was regarded as imperfect. They were never to be allowed to convert Moslems to their religion, and those who turned from Christianity or from Judaism to Islam were always, at least in theory, favoured. But the Christian born of Christian parents was permitted to be governed, on the basis of the laws of his community, by his own religious leaders, whose judgements were executed by the Islamic state, in all matters concerned with the family and the

inheritance of property as well as in religious matters. The Patriarch of the Christians was responsible to the Islamic ruler for the conduct of his flock and was empowered to rule over them. The Eastern Orthodox, who had been and continued to be in communion with the official Church of the Eastern Roman Empire, as long as that empire lasted, were described as the "Melkites" or "King's men" and as "the Royal Roman Nation". The Armenians, when and where they were subjugated, were regarded, naturally enough, as a distinct subject nation, governed according to their own laws; the Copts in Egypt were in the same position. The Syriac Christians out of communion with the "Romans" became two nations, the "Syriani" or Jacobite Syrians and the "Assyrians", the former being Monophysite and the latter Nestorian. As time went on, these communities came to "co-exist" with Islam and with one another; passage from one religious community was rare, and it was assumed that a family went to a certain church because it was of the nation involved with that church. While Arabic and Turkish came into Christian use and were even used in church services to a certain extent in some areas, until the last century to be an Arab meant to be a Moslem, and even in this century very few Christians consider themselves of Turkish nationality. The Christian subjects of the Arab Empires and of the Turkish Empire regarded the preservation of their faith as bound up with the preservation of a distinct community-consciousness as a Christian nation or community. When the Turkish Empire was breaking up, most, although not all, of the Christian communities within it sought political independence, and their nationalism, even when secularized, feels a debt of gratitude to the Church for the preservation of the national language, customs, and consciousness through the long period of Islamic rule.

Unity as the members of the ancient Oriental Churches see it

For the most part, each community of Christians in the Near East is used to living in its own villages or in its own quarters and streets in the cities. In many parts of the Balkans and of Greece almost all Christians belong to one church, the Orthodox Eastern Church. This leads the ordinary Christian to think of

unity principally in terms of his own local and national community. He is concerned and troubled by controversies, whether ideological, political, or personal, which tend to divide his own community. He is much less troubled, if troubled at all, by the absence of mental communication between his own local Christian community and other Christian communities, speaking other languages, and connected with other countries or nations. This explains his strong antagonism to Roman Catholic and Protestant proselytism, by which sometimes a Christian village standing among many Islamic villages is divided into three or four antagonistic congregations. There is something primitive about this standpoint, which the ecumenical movement needs to notice. In theological terms, the relationship between local churches is not conceived primarily in terms of parts of a whole ; ideally, it is a relationship of identity. In each place the whole Church of God is embodied in a worshipping community. In each Church, if it is really Orthodox, the whole faith of Christ is expressed in the hymns and readings and actions of the liturgical service (rather than in sermons, which reflect the ideas of individuals), and God is rightly glorified. Orthodoxy is right glorifying. A local church is in communion with other local churches, because they are believed to do what it does, to glorify God as it does. But unity is, first and foremost, union with God and with our neighbours and brethren in Christ with whom we live in one community. Moreover, it includes unity with our ancestors and fathers in the faith, by whose labours we came to believe in Christ.

The Syrian Churches of India

PAUL VERGHESE

There are five distinct Christian groups which would come under the name of "The Syrian Churches of India": the Orthodox Church, the Jacobite Church, the Syrian Catholics (Malankara and Malabar Rites), the Mar Thoma Church, and what used to be the "CMS Church" which is now merged in the Church of South India. How these five groups came to be and why they were called "Syrian" are topics that merit enquiry.

The West discovers the Syrian Christians

The first Western contact with the Christian Church in India was in 1500 when the Portuguese Admiral Peter Alvares Cabrol set foot on the soil of Malabar, that narrow strip of land on the west coast of south India, between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea.

What kind of Christians did the Portugese find in India in 1500? The decrees of the Roman Catholic Synod of Diamper in 1599, which attempted to correct the "errors" of the Indian Christians, undoubtedly show their earlier faith to have been influenced by Nestorianism and their practices by Hinduism. Apparently the liturgy used by them was that of Addai and Mari, very close to that used in East Syria or Babylon in the sixth century. Some of the liturgies found contained the anaphora of Theodore, Diodore and Nestorius. Many Nestorian saints were venerated, and the Blessed Virgin was addressed as the Mother of Christ and not as Mother of God.

But when exactly did the Nestorian connection begin? Was the church originated from the missionary efforts of the Nestorians in the seventh century? Certain scholars to the contrary, the church was in India certainly as early as the fourth century. However unauthentic and unhistorical the fourth century Syriac "Acts of St. Thomas" may be, the

tradition attributed the church then existing in India to the labours of the Apostle Thomas. The paucity of evidence in support of the tradition may lead cautious scholars to suspend judgment on the issue whether St. Thomas actually went to India and established a church there or not, but the available evidence¹ is certainly adequate to show that the church was there in the fourth century.

Nestorian Connections

Even as early as the sixth century, the Indian Church is seen to have close connections with the Persian and Babylonian Churches. Cosmas Indicopleustes, who visited India between 520 and 535, met Persian bishops in Malabar and Socotra. Were these Persians Nestorians? Yes, at least they were called so. But the word Nestorian is in this case used less in a theological than in a geographical sense. The Indian Church, along with the Persian and Babylonian Churches, had been placed under the Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (in Babylon), who was the head of the whole Eastern Church and who had the highest position in the Synod of Nicea after the four Patriarchs (Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Rome). The Eastern Church was Syrian, with Syriac as its liturgical language, and the Indian Church must have used this language from its very inception.

The war between the Persians and the Syrians in 420 led to a declaration of independence by the Persian-Babylonian Church in 424, with the Catholicos as Supreme Head. The strained relations between Babylon and Antioch continued to the end of the sixth century, when Patriarch Babai, to spite the Syrians, condemned their doctrine and officially accepted a modified Nestorianism. This led to the Indian Church, which was under the Catholicos, also coming under this so-called Nestorian influence.

¹ See MINGANA: *Early Spread of Christianity in Asia*, p. 18, 26-28. Also *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes*. Ed. J. W. McCrindle, p. 118-129.

Bishop Leslie Brown of Uganda discusses the evidence for both the St. Thomas tradition and for the existence of the church in the fourth century in his admirable new work, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1956), to which this article is much indebted.

Palestinian immigrants

There were colonies of Palestinian Christians who migrated to the Malabar coast of India in the fourth century as well as perhaps in the ninth century. The name of Thomas of Cana (in Palestine) is mentioned as the leader of one of these colonies, but whether it was in the fourth century or the ninth is still a matter of dispute among scholars. This immigrant community remains to this day as a distinct endogamic group¹ though a good part of them have joined the Roman Catholic Church. They are still called Canaanites (Thekkumbhagakkar), and form a distinct episcopate within the Jacobite Church under Bishop Mar Clemis².

Portuguese invaders

The coming of the Portuguese and then the English, became the occasion for more upheavals and divisions within this Church of the Malabar Christians, who actually called themselves "Nazranis" as followers of Jesus of Nazareth.

The highly effective and uncompromising efforts of Portuguese Archbishop Meneses, who later became Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, led to nearly the whole Church, Canaanites and all, joining the Roman Catholic fold under severe pressure. The Portuguese military authorities, who had by this time become rulers of that part of India, intercepted all bishops sent by the East Syrian Church, collected and burned all the literature of the Malabar Christians, and rushed through a well-policed Synod all the reforms necessary according to the Roman point of view. Purgatory, veneration of images and reliics, the Supremacy of the Pope and a host of other unorthodox doctrines were introduced.

This was in 1599. But the resentment of the Malabar Christians was increased by the harsh and unsympathetic attitude of the Jesuits who dominated the affairs of the Church in Malabar, until it was fanned to flames by the extreme harshness of Jesuit

¹ A Canaanite Jacobite would much rather marry a Roman Catholic Canaanite than a non-Canaanite Jacobite.

² Mar Clemis has recently been elected as the Jacobite Metropolitan for the whole of India, the first time a Canaanite has been given this high honour.

Archbishop Gracis who was consecrated in 1633. The Christians protested to Goa and the Pope, and having no response, appealed to the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon, the Jacobite Patriarch at Diabekr and the Coptic Patriarch at Alexandria, to send them a bishop.

The Cochin Cross revolt

Bishop Ahathalla of the Syrian Church came from Alexandria, with credentials from the Babylonian Catholicos. He was arrested by the Portuguese in Madras and sent to Goa via Malabar, in a ship. When the ship touched the port of Malabar (Cochin), a large group of Christians marched on the city, demanding their bishop, but the ship quietly slipped out of the harbour at night with the bishop. Wild stories that the bishop had been drowned in the sea began to spread, and the angry Christians met around the stone cross in the churchyard in Cochin, and took an oath never again to be under the ecclesiastical authority of Rome. At least one writer says that only 400 Christians out of 200,000 remained loyal to the Catholic Church. The Christians elected their own archdeacon as bishop and consecrated him as Metropolitan Mar Thoma I, in 1653.

The Pope hearing of this sent a group of Discalced Carmelites to set matters right in Malabar. Meanwhile Portuguese pressure on local kings had led to their ordering their Christian subjects to submit to the Jesuit Archbishop. Political pressure also forced three of the Indian Orthodox bishop's four counsellors to desert him. With the work of the Italian Carmelite friars, many of the churches gradually went back to the Roman Catholic fold. Father Hyacinth, the leader of the mission, used the authority of the native kings quite freely, so that in the words of a Roman Catholic Father, "by imprisonments, sequestration of property, and similar means, he managed to gain over many souls and to bring the whole country into the right way".

The two fundamental groups among the Syrians, the Syrian Catholics (who today number more than a million), and the Syrian Orthodox (about half a million), were formed in this way. By 1662, eighty-four parishes had come under the Roman obedience, while thirty-two remained with Metropolitan Mar Thoma. Doctrinally and liturgically, the latter group (the

Orthodox) also followed the Roman Catholic decisions of Diamper, except that of recognizing the Pope.

It was with the coming of the Jacobite Catholicos Mar Baselios and his assistant bishop Mar Ivanios in 1678, that monophysitism, rejection of icons, marriage of priests and the standing posture in prayer were reintroduced.

The Dutch who followed the Portuguese in the political control of the Malabar coast were timid and tolerant in matters of religion, and after a few stray and fruitless attempts to introduce the Dutch Reformed faith, gave it up altogether.

The coming of the British

It was Claudius Buchanan's sermons and the publication of his "Christian Researches" in England in 1811 that attracted the Church Missionary Society to India. The first missionaries, Norton and Bailey, were sympathetic to the traditions of the Syrian Church and only sought to help strengthen what was good in them. They chose to be silent on the faults of the Syrian Church — which wisdom their successors considered foolishness.

It was as a result of the excessively outspoken and unsympathetic criticism of CMS missionaries like Joseph Peet that in 1836 the Syrian (Orthodox) Synod rejected outright the moderate proposals for reform which had been tactfully presented by Bishop Wilson of Calcutta. This Synod closed the door against future Anglican missionary influence in the Syrian Church, and led to the demand for partitioning church property which had come to be jointly administered by the Orthodox and the Anglicans. A number of Christians who had been dependent on the missionaries both spiritually and otherwise left the parent group, adopting many reforms of the Low Church Anglican type and accepting the Book of Common Prayer rendered into Malayalam, the local vernacular. Such was the beginning of the Syrian Anglicans, who have now become part of the Church of South India.

Repercussions of the Anglican impact

There were many others who remained in the Orthodox Church who had been powerfully influenced by the evangelical doctrines of the Anglicans. After a further effort to bring about

certain reforms in the Syrian Church the leaders of this Anglican originated "evangelical group" gathered together other evangelicals among the Syrians who had also been driven out of their parishes by their conservative brethren who were always in the majority. They separated themselves to form a new group, the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, the fourth of the groups now composing the Syrian Christian group in India. In all fairness it should be said that this church does not consider itself to have broken away from the parent group, but sincerely believes that it restored the pristine purity of the ancient Indian Church which had been polluted and disturbed by the influence of the Roman Catholics. Thus their claim is that they are the direct successors of the church in India which is believed to have been established by the Apostle Mar Thoma.

This church has today about 200,000 members with five bishops. It is very active in mission work, and has a great deal of real life within it. This body was in communion with the Anglican diocese of Travancore, and is still in communion with the Church of South India.

The division within the Syrian Orthodox Church

The Syrian (Orthodox) Church was subjected to a further division when a quarrel arose between those who continued to recognize the authority of the Syrian Patriarch and those who followed the Indian Bishop Mar Dionysios in denying the Patriarch's authority. This latter group became known as the Catholicos party. This conflict between the Patriarch's party and the Catholicos' party has continued until this day. The court case that has been going on since 1913 between the Catholicos' party and the Patriarch's party, ostensibly to gain possession of the church properties, is really at base a dispute about the validity of the ordination of the Catholicos. Since 1931 several attempts have been made in recent years to bring the two sides together, and two events have taken place in 1957 which augur well for future peace negotiations. Patriarch Ephraim I, whom the Catholicos went to see in 1934 and who had never been willing to let the authority over the Indian Church pass into Indian hands, died last year. The new patriarch, Mar Ignatius Jacob III, was for many years in India as

a monk, and is reported to favour reconciliation. The new metropolitan bishop of the patriarch's party in India, Mar Clemis Abraham, is also a young man of wide vision, and has done yeoman work during his recent visit to Syria, to prepare the ground for peace.

Present life of the Syrian Churches

There are signs of real spiritual life in all these groups of Syrian Christians, though there is a rather deplorable tendency on the part of each group to underestimate the life of the others.

The Romo-Syrians are easily the most active. Equipped with a large budget from the Department of Propaganda of the Vatican and a large seminary in Alwaye with accommodation for 800 students, they are out to engulf the Orthodox and Jacobite groups which are warring with each other.

In stark contrast are the seminaries of the Orthodox, Jacobite, Marthomite and CSI groups, with their student bodies of less than 40 in each case.

The student movement of the Orthodox group has been in active existence ever since 1908 and will celebrate its Golden Jubilee this year. Under the new name Orthodox Christian Student Movement of India, it has begun good work in many of the colleges.

The Student Christian Movement is looked upon with suspicion by the Orthodox and the Jacobite groups as being predominantly Protestant, and hence has not been able to do much effective work among these groups.

Youth movements of the various groups are reasonably active, but the spirit of sacrifice, which is so deeply admired in India, and which the Hindu religion has always been able to produce, has been still lacking among the educated and talented young Syrians who seem to be too career-minded. Many of these young men have been given theological and other training in the West, mostly subsidized by the western churches, but on their return home most of them have been unable to work in an Indian setting and have been absorbed by West-supported institutions.

The future of these church groups, it seems to the present writer, would largely depend upon the level to which they can follow their Master, in love and in sacrifice.

Roman Catholicism and the Orthodox Churches

C.-J. DUMONT, O. P.

To understand the present attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards the Orthodox Churches, it is essential to recall briefly the past history of their relations. We know that the churches of the Orthodox communion are those which condemned the errors of the Nestorians and the Monophysites at the Ecumenical Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedony in the fifth century (whence their name of Orthodox) and remained in communion with the apostolic see of Rome up to the middle of the eleventh century, in spite of minor temporary breaks. It was in 1054, under the Patriarch Michael Cerulens, that there occurred the final break which we generally call the "Eastern Schism".

Although several questions of a doctrinal nature were advanced to justify this separation, they were not the principal cause of this schism ; it was rather a quarrel over jurisdiction, concerning the right of intervention of the Bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, in the doctrinal and disciplinary affairs of other churches, a right which — at least in the form in which it had been practised hitherto — had not been seriously contested by these churches. Apart from this question of the responsibility proper to the Bishop of Rome in relation to the whole of Christendom, the schism thus accomplished questioned none of the fundamental principles on which the structure and life of the Church were based : an episcopate which was not only historic but divinely instituted in the person of the Apostles, and of a sacramental nature, transmitted by the laying-on of hands and enabling properly ordained priests, and only such, to celebrate the eucharistic mystery and the ministry of the remission of sins in the name of the Lord. As well as Scripture — of which, however, each had adopted a slightly different canon — the two henceforth separate streams of Christendom claimed to hold a tradition, common in its essentials, but

presenting some variations on points of secondary importance. These variations concerned details of discipline or worship : the use of unleavened or leavened bread, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper ; the celibacy or otherwise of priests not committed to monastic life ; days of fasting and abstinence ; the wearing of a beard, etc. As for the doctrinal difficulties, they concerned the addition of the words "and the Son" (in relation to the procession of the Holy Spirit) in the text of the Nicene Creed, the state of souls after death (purgatory), and the primacy of the Bishop of Rome (referred to above), to which were added, but only as late as the nineteenth century, the infallibility of the Pope and the dogma of the Immaculate Conception (the freedom from the stain of original sin) of the Virgin Mary.

This simple enumeration is enough to show how this rupture between the communions differed from that produced five hundred years later at the Reformation. The Reformation in effect repudiated the greater part of all the things to which the Western and Eastern Churches remained equally and fundamentally attached in spite of their quarrel. The Roman Catholic Church has never questioned the authenticity of the episcopacy of the Orthodox Churches, nor naturally that of the priesthood and the Eucharist which depend therefrom, nor the power to remit sins in the name of the Lord, nor, in a word, all the sacramental and hierarchical structure of these Churches which is the structure of the Church ; whereas the Reformed Churches have rejected both the notion and the reality of this structure. The whole difference in the Roman Church's attitude to the Orthodox Churches on the one hand and to these confessions on the other, rests on these fundamental data. It follows from this that, in principle, negotiations bearing on a small number of points of canonical and, in the event, of doctrinal order (it would be easy to show that the latter arise more from theological formulation than from dogmatic perception and affirmation) could lead to the end of the Schism and to renewed communion where the Orthodox Churches are concerned ; whereas the very conception of the nature of the Church and the existence of its essential structures — as well as a great number of points of a dogmatic character — would have to be restored where the Protestant confessions are concerned.

Negotiations towards reunion

In fact such negotiations have taken place in the course of the centuries. An ecumenical council held at Lyons in 1274 ended effectively in reunion, but it was only for a short time. When a new council met at Florence in 1439 for the same purpose, the rupture had already become so much worse that only a part of the Eastern delegation stayed to the end of the discussions and signed the act of union ; this was not promulgated everywhere, and where it was it did not prove durable.

We recall these facts because they continue to dominate the present situation. Indeed the bases of the Union of Florence are still valid in Roman eyes. They are, on the one hand, an agreement on the controversial doctrines, in particular the recognized equivalence of the two equally traditional formulae expressing the procession of the Holy Ghost from both Father and Son (the Western) or from the Father through the Son (Eastern), and on the other hand, an explicit recognition by the two parties of the complete legitimacy of the liturgical and other customs which were not common to them. Further, the interior autonomy of the Eastern Churches was recognized, in this sense and with this limitation, that the legitimately elected head of each could govern it in his own way, that is, according to the Church's own law and customs, provided he was in communion of faith and discipline with the Roman Pontiff.

Partial unions

The Union of Florence, as we have said, had no future. We cannot analyse the cause of this failure here. We must restrict ourselves to noting the consequences. The most important was no doubt the following : the hope which the Church of Rome had cherished from the beginning of the schisms, of reaching a general settlement restoring union with all the Orthodox Churches, seemed to have vanished. For lack of a general settlement should they make up their minds to partial settlements ? In fact, international political events were not long in making

such settlements possible. Towards the end of the sixteenth century part of the population of Western Russia (White Russia and Little Russia) came under the domination of the Roman Catholic Polish-Lithuanian state. Conversations led to the Union of Brest-Litovsk (1596). A little later the Roumanian dioceses of Transylvania, which were then under Hungarian rule, were united with Rome. The same thing happened at this period with important fractions of the Churches of the Near East. Hence the constitution not only of a United Greek-Melkite Church (formerly Orthodox) but of United Armenian and Syrian (formerly Monophysite) and Chaldean (formerly Nestorian) Churches. All these unions were on the basis of the Florence agreement : full communion of faith and discipline with the Latin Church was reestablished without any sacrifice of the customs proper to these Eastern Churches.

Significance of partial unions

From the point of view of the Roman Church these partial unions were very important. A catholicity or universality of right which she had never renounced was once more matched by a catholicity of fact : she was no longer exclusively Latin. Moreover, realizing, even if only for important minorities, the kind of union to which the Council of Florence had invited the whole of the Eastern Churches, Rome had the advantage of being able to meet the East with something more than mere promises : in her mind these partial unions were to serve as prototypes for the union of the whole. And since the project of such a general union being realized at one sweep had shown itself to be Utopian, they began to hope that it would finally be achieved progressively with one neighbour after another. This seems to have been the thought which inspired nearly every step that was taken from the Roman Catholic side, towards the desired union, throughout later centuries and especially during these last decades, both in relation to the Russian Church after the Bolshevik Revolution and in relation to the Greek Church in a quite different context.

An unfavourable judgment on this attitude should not be made too hurriedly. In actual fact, the local Eastern Churches

which have united with Rome have undoubtedly benefited in essentially religious ways, the most notable — and this leads to many other things — being a noticeable raising of the general level of the religious education of their clergy, a reform largely due in its turn to the reforms achieved in the Roman Church in consequence of the Council of Trent. No serious and sincere Orthodox will dispute that the support — often the authority — of the Holy See has been of great value in remedying the decline of the average level of these churches, a decline caused by unfavourable historical circumstances (such as the Tartar invasions in Russia and the domination of Islam in Greek or Arabic-speaking countries). We may think that such support would be very useful, perhaps even necessary, to help the Russian Church to recover rapidly and completely, when circumstances make this possible, from the blows she has received and is receiving from the militant materialism in power. We have positive reasons for thinking that this aspect of things is not absent from the thoughts of many good minds in the Orthodox Churches behind the Iron Curtain.

And yet, in spite of this positive element, we should be misleading ourselves if we thought that the balance-sheet today was very encouraging from the point of view of the desired reunion. With the help of an atheist civil power, the united churches of the communist countries have been obliged to separate themselves anew from Rome and to return to communion with the Orthodox Churches. This certainly was not achieved without resistance, and a resistance which is far from being subdued. Fine examples of faithfulness continue to be given by the people and the clergy of these churches whose bishops, imprisoned and deported, have behaved as true confessors of the faith. Moreover, an extensive emigration has reinforced the fractions of these churches beyond the frontiers, preparing the hoped-for renaissance. But sociological laws are consistent in their effects. If the present state of things continues much longer, it is to be feared that resistance will fizzle out and new generations will be permanently lost to the formerly existing union. Political circumstances are in danger of undoing what other circumstances of the same kind have contributed to bring about.

Orthodox attitude on partial unions

But there is something more serious. The Orthodox strongly disapprove of the method of partial unions. They can indeed only be achieved to the detriment of the whole Orthodox Church which is proportionately weakened and loosened thereby. They protest that it is not reunion but progressive conquest; to campaign for such partial measures of unity is to commit an act of hostility. And if for lack of being able to count on enough priests and faithful who are natives of the country concerned — as in the case of Russia — an Eastern united Church is composed of a massive increase of Latin subjects who have adopted its rites, the effort made is in danger of being not only odious but ridiculous. For it may be easy for a Latin priest to wear a beard and long hair, to dress in the Eastern manner and display the characteristic cross of the Russian Church, but it is more difficult to pronounce a foreign tongue without accent, and still more to adopt at the altar, as well as in the parish, this characteristic something which gives its distinctive appearance to every Eastern Church. To the reproach of aggression is added the reproach of masquerade. The united Eastern Churches, whom the Roman Catholics like to think of as a bait, a bridge thrown across the moat which separates them from the Orthodox, are resented by the latter as a weapon of war, a deceitful ruse. These grievances abound in the polemical literature which increases daily.

Roman Catholic intention

In spite of appearances, we do not think these grievances are justified. They arise in the first place from a profound misunderstanding of the intentions behind the effort made from the Roman Catholic side. Since the union they envisage presupposes the recognition by the Orthodox of the universal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, our Orthodox brethren regard all efforts towards union as part of a vast Roman Catholic plan for universal domination. Nothing is more wounding to us than such a suspicion. For in our eyes — and very sincerely — it is not a question of domination (for what human advantage indeed

could we get from it ?) but of service. Here evidently we get to the heart of the problem, for it is the very notion of primacy which is at stake. Moreover, we do not deny that the way many Roman Catholic authors express their views, not only on the subject of the person of the Pope but of the Papacy in itself, provides some solid ground for this misunderstanding. But the attention of the reader must be drawn to the profound movement within the Roman Church which we all agree cannot fail to have considerable "ecumenical" influence. We shall only refer here — apart from the biblical and liturgical movements (so wide open to the Eastern traditions) — to the renewal of the theology of the Church. The growing interest in the theology of the local (or particular) church is along a line of development which is capable of bringing valuable contributions to the healing of the Eastern schism ; it should lead to the taking up again at a very fundamental level of the work preparatory to the Vatican Council which, but for premature interruptions due to political events, would have defined the responsibilities and proper powers of the bishops, complementing and balancing its statements on the function of the primacy of the Bishop of Rome.

Towards true catholicity

Another very positive aspect of the Catholic behaviour is that the effective existence, in the Roman communion, of important churches of various oriental rites (the Ruthenian Church alone numbered several million members) keeps alive — or if necessary revives — the consciousness of the requirements of a true catholicity. More effectively than the separated churches from the outside, these Catholic communities of the Eastern rites bring all their weight on to the side of allowing the traditions of the Christian East a real "freedom of the city" within the Universal Church as the churches in communion with the Roman See intend it to be. We may certainly regret that this influence is not yet fully effective. But it is incontestable that it is growing. A powerful contribution to it is the effort to acquire scholarly knowledge of the Christian East which has been so energetically instigated and encouraged especially during the last century, and particularly by Popes Benedict XV and

Pius XI following in the footsteps of a Leo XIII. Here again, naturally, there may be deficiencies and gaps, a smell of partiality sometimes in historical and theological judgments. But on the whole there is no doubt that knowledge of the separated East has gained in breadth, depth, and objectivity. In this connection we should mention the work done in such an institution as the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies in Rome, or in a more open-minded and sympathetic manner by the Benedictine Fathers of the monastery of Amay-Chevetogne in Belgium, our "Istina" centre in Paris, and many similar enterprises. Not infrequently nowadays important instances of collaboration between Roman Catholic and Orthodox theologians are found in the various spheres of sacred study, not to speak of frequent and very irenical conversations on controversial questions.

As regards institutions, the autonomy given to the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church, detached by Benedict XV from the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith (within the Roman Curia), has not only made manifest the Church's concern to distinguish the problems of the reunion of Christendom from that of missions in a pagan land, but has laid the foundations of an organism which should — in the near or distant future — allow the Eastern Churches united to the see of Rome to make their voices heard in the immediate councils of the sovereign Pontiff, first of all on the matters which concern their own life, and also on all those which concern the whole of the Church's life. Here, no doubt, it may be pointed out to us that we are far from the goal. That may be so. But it is incontestable that we are on the road which can lead us to it.

We have not been able to touch on more than a few of the most important aspects of the problem. What we have said will, we hope, contribute to the understanding of how great a mistake it would be to judge the progress towards reunion between Romans and Orthodox only on the basis of the more or less official relationships of these two fractions of Christendom. Such relationships are almost non-existent. However, it can be stated without paradox that what is being done most effectively on the Catholic side towards this reunion is being done today chiefly, though not exclusively, in the very bosom of Catholicism, moving slowly but in depth, and should one day make for

closer relationships and even — God helping us — negotiations with a view to the restoration of canonical unity. If it is not rare to meet among Catholics simplist minds whose words and actions justify the reproaches we have mentioned on the part of our Orthodox brethren, we may say that at the present stage of development of studies and personal contacts these elements are vestiges of the past. We must not mistake them for the heralds of the days to come.

Finally, let us note that, just as the crisis of the Reformation drew the attention of Catholic circles to the Orthodox Churches, by reason of the community of witness of their traditions on all the points put on trial and rejected by the Reformers, so the Orthodox participation in the studies and encounters of the World Council of Churches is today bringing about a new awareness among Orthodox as well as Catholics of this community of views. The fact that Protestants and Orthodox are in agreement over the rejection of the universal primacy of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff should not put one on the wrong scent, nor the fact that some Orthodox Churches are members of the World Council of Churches whereas the Roman Church remains apart. It is in the nature of things that the present ecumenical conjuncture should lead Catholics and Orthodox very soon to much closer relationships.

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THE STUDENT WORLD CHRONICLE

The Student Christian Movement in Greece

STERGIOS VITTIS

The liberation of Greece in 1821 was followed by a religious revival. An enthusiastic movement under inspired leadership began to develop within the Orthodox Church. After a long period of preparation this movement reached its height in the period between the two world wars. After the occupation, the Christian movement developed still further. The influence of the war and the new conditions which followed contributed to its marvellous development.

Young people in general and students in particular are in the vanguard of this movement. Two fraternal organizations are entrusted with spiritual work among students: the Student Christian Association (Christianikos Omilos Fititón, Χ.Ο.Φ.) and Student Christian Union (Christianiki Fititiki Enosis, Χ.Φ.Ε.). These two organizations, with a program inspired by long experience and deep study of life in Greek universities, have been working for a long time in Athens and Salonika. There are also many branches of these organizations in all the big towns of Greece where there are high schools. In what follows we shall attempt to give a summary of some of the general features of the life and work of the Student Christian Movement in Greece.

Aims

The Student Christian Movement in Greece has two general aims:

1. The training of students in the Christian life;
2. Christian action in university and society.

These two general aims show the direction of the interior and exterior life of the Student Christian Movement. Under these general headings we may make a closer analysis of the Movement.

I. THE TRAINING OF STUDENTS IN THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

For training in the Christian life the following possibilities and means are available.

A. *Groups for study and for Christian training*

Students grouped for the purpose according to faculty or date of joining the Movement study various fundamental subjects from the Christian standpoint, for example, Christianity and science, professional training, the right direction of social life, the personality of the Christian intellectual, the foundations of Christianity, Christianity and philosophy, the Christian and contemporary problems etc. They also study more special problems such as the professional problems of the doctor, the professor, etc.

Under the leadership of spiritual teachers and of old members of the Movement who have now achieved academic distinction, clear directives are traced for the intellectual leaders of the future.

B. *Bible study groups*

The spiritual effort mentioned above would be defective if students did not come into immediate contact with Christian truth contained in Holy Scripture. Therefore Bible study groups are formed, under the leadership of younger qualified men, theologians, professors, doctors, etc., or even of experienced students. This study leads to a deeper knowledge of the spiritual riches of the Bible and, at the same time, provides valuable instruction for the individual.

C. *Sacramental life and worship*

The miracle of Christian life, a life essentially supernatural, is presented in a setting of faith and of mystical union with our Lord. In this way the spiritual life develops in all its fullness and continuity. For this purpose the sacraments, especially Confession and Holy Communion, are continually available.

Special confessors with great experience and a deep psychological understanding of the innumerable problems of the students offer them the grace of absolution, support them, encourage them, and direct them in the Christian life, often so hard. At the same time the Liturgy gives them the opportunity of making their Communion. These opportunities are used and the influence is plain to see. Holiday camps are organized for students in the same spirit, and they are

always very successful. These camps which make possible completely Christian living may always have considerable influence on the spiritual life of students.

II. CHRISTIAN ACTION IN THE UNIVERSITY AND IN SOCIETY

A. *Action in the university*

There are many kinds of opportunity in this vast field of action. Here are some :

1. *Activity groups* : Groups of students with special training work methodically in the university. That does not mean that others cannot take part, but the former have the special responsibility for spreading Christian ideas and traditions in the various faculties. So they initiate and engage with their colleagues in discussions on Christian subjects. They invite them to conferences which they organize in their centres, they circulate books and Christian journals, they prepare scientific, artistic, and literary meetings and recreational evenings for students, whether members of the Movement or not. All this presupposes a continual and perfect organization and coordination. That is the concern of the "action section" of the Movement.

2. *Publications* : The Movement's publications, addressed chiefly to the student world, occupy a special place. Their purpose is to answer the questions which interest students. For example, two books, *The sexual problem* and *Contemporary Guides*, have appeared recently and have had a wide circulation. They have also been read in the secondary schools and in the army.

They are also special publications to keep students informed about the activities of the Movement.

3. *Work for students doing their military service* : Recently many students have been doing their military service in one stage. There are many members of the Movement among them. The Movement tries to keep in touch with them by means of correspondence, circular letters, sending news of the Movement, or books and material to help them prepare talks on different subjects to the other soldiers. The results are plain to see. Helping each other like brothers they become in their turn apostles of the Christian ideal. So there is a special department for this work.

4. *Care for student members in the provinces* : Many members of the Movement find themselves in the provinces either for the summer holidays or for other reasons. Brotherly relations must be preserved

with them in the love of Jesus Christ. For this purpose another department has been set up under the title "Care for the provinces". In addition to the material already prepared for soldiers, this department sends students instructions for action in the province where they are.

5. *Charity for one's fellows* : The interest of members of the SCM in their fellows is not confined to evangelism. There is the practical exercise of charity. There is concern for students in need. For this purpose special refectories are set up for students, financial assistance is given towards university dues, clothes are provided, etc. There is also a health department for students whose faculties give them no medical help, and teams to read to blind students, and to visit students who are sick or in hospital.

B. *Action in society*

It is impossible that the vitality and enthusiasm of students should be limited to the university. The society into which they will graduate tomorrow has already many uses for them. And students wish to come to its help as far as possible, and their surplus energy overflows in the following ways :

1. *Evangelistic work in society* : Many students are mobilized in missionary work in the schools. Theirs is the task of introducing children and teachers to the Christian life, and they carry out their mission with love and devotion. They teach in the Catechism, and they lead Christian groups of school children in the various youth clubs founded by the Movement.

This work is carried on systematically by students in the big cities throughout the whole school year, and also during the holidays in their home towns. In this way children in the most distant villages hear the Christian message and come to know the joy of Christian truth and life.

The same thing happens in the various school camps in which students are officers and leaders. Similarly they visit the gymnasia and other secondary schools to talk to the pupils on interesting subjects.

2. *Collaboration with public welfare institutions* : The Student Movement collaborates with public welfare institutions. For example they visit hospitals to cheer and comfort the sick. This work goes on all through the year within the action program, but especially at the great religious festivals, Easter, Christmas, etc.

Many members of the Movement take part in the social, economic, and spiritual education of the Greek peasant, organized by the Royal National Institute of Greece. Students made a considerable contribution to the reconstruction of our country after the earthquakes. Work camps were organized in the regions affected, and manual and spiritual work were combined in an effort to raise the morale of the peasants. To understand the significance of this contribution it must be remembered that many villagers, according to information given by competent observers, ran the risk of remaining without shelter on account of the propaganda of the communists, who exhorted them not to accept state aid for the rebuilding of their homes by themselves. But thanks to the work of the students just described, the peasants understood their interest and accepted the help which was offered, and enthusiastically set about the work of rebuilding. They had a roof over their heads by the time winter came, and thanked God that they had listened to the "blessed men", as they called the students. Moreover, students prepared "parcels for school-child earthquake victims" out of their own savings. This effort was a great success and the villagers were deeply touched by this offering.

* * *

The limited space of an article does not allow us to give a more detailed account of the Student Christian Movement in Greece. We hope, however, that what we report in broad outline will give readers some picture of the present Christian renaissance among Greek students.

The great return to the principles of faith on the part of scholars and modern thinkers, and particularly of university students, gives us hope for a better future. The new generation, full of enthusiasm and filled with the light of the Lord, shows by its words and its deeds the way for society to follow: the way which leads us from the darkness of Ash Wednesday to the dazzling light of the Resurrection.

The Russian Student Christian Movement Abroad

Father BASILE ZENKOWSKY

The Student Christian Movement in Russia started, as early as 1905, almost simultaneously in the three great centres : St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev. At that period it was interconfessional, having no concern with problems of the church, and no large following. When many years later, in 1922, partly in a spontaneous way, partly through the initiative of some former leaders of the Movement in Russia, religious groups were formed among students and the Russian Student Christian Movement Abroad was organized, the movement right from its start associated its activity with the Orthodox church. The first conference of these Russian religious groups took place in Prerov (Czechoslovakia) in 1925, and it was here that the confessional character of our Movement and its connection with the Orthodox Church became definite.

After 1925 the RSCM spread rapidly among the refugees living in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, England, as well as in such former Russian provinces as Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and part of Lithuania, which had by then become independent. This was "the golden age" of the Movement which had at its conferences from 200 to 400 young people. At first it concerned itself only with young people of student age and student mentality, but later it began work among workmen and peasants (in Estonia).

The ties with the Church were becoming stronger and stronger, and in 1928 the Movement invited the Rev. S. Chetverikov, an outstanding Russian priest, to become its spiritual leader. In 1929 the Paris Movement opened its own church, which then became the church of the whole Movement.

From the very beginning until now the conferences of the RSCM have had a liturgical character. Every day starts with a communion service at which almost all participants take the Holy Communion. This feature of the conferences constitutes a strong missionary force in the Movement which wins our young people. At the same time our Movement has preserved its academic character — there exist groups studying the Bible, dogmatics, liturgics, various problems of life from the church point of view ; they try to "churchify life", as we say. We consider that secularism, the separation of all spheres of culture from the Church, is the basic illness of modern life. The Church should again become the source of creative inspiration, should

enlighten the world, and all problems of personal, social, and historical life, with the light of Christian truth. "Churchifying life" means a return of all life to the Church, and this idea constitutes the spiritual basis of the Movement.

In 1927 the Movement started work among school pupils and young children, thus enlarging the field of its missionary activity. Since then this work has developed greatly. Much emphasis is put on our summer camps which have an immense success. There is always a priest living at camp and a camp chapel. At morning prayers a New Testament lesson is read, accompanied by a short sermon. At the end of camp usually all campers take Communion. We also have a special student camp attached to this camp.

Until 1933 the activity of our Movement grew in quantity and quality, but then it had to pass through a period of decline. In Latvia the government prohibited the RSCM (because of its love for Russian culture) and at the outbreak of the war in 1939 it had to stop its activity everywhere. When the Soviets occupied Estonia and Latvia, several members of the Movement lost their lives because of their missionary activity. As soon as the war was over, the Movement resumed its activity, first in France, then in Germany. In 1952 it started in the United States.

From the very beginning of its work abroad the RSCM had been in contact with Christian student groups in Western Europe, and the Movement has always taken a very active part in ecumenical work. The close tie with the Church in no way prevents it from having religious contacts with other confessions; on the contrary, they have a most beneficial influence on the consciousness of our members as Orthodox. One must note that our Movement is quite free in its organization, and its tie with the Church is only expressed in the acceptance of its spiritual leadership. It is this which distinguishes it from similar confessional movements among Roman Catholic youth, for we maintain a free, and hence a deeper, faithfulness to the Church.

The fact of having been for such a long time away from their native country has inevitably denationalized Russian émigrés; this is particularly noticeable in France, and partly in the United States. Thus the Movement has had to face a new task: to preserve the link of Russian young people (who are often very much influenced by French or American civilization), with the Orthodox Church. At our main conferences in France, at least one of the seminars is given in French, as well as one of the papers presented. In 1955, on the initiative of some of the Movement members, a group of Orthodox students was formed at the Sorbonne, including Russians, Greeks,

Rumanians, Finns, and Syrians. This group uses French at its meetings.

It was also the Movement which had the idea of founding an association of Orthodox young people from various countries. It started in 1950 at Bossey, with the help of the Ecumenical Institute, where a meeting of representatives of various national Orthodox movements (Greek, Russian, Syrian and Bulgarian) was called. This opened a new page in religious work in Orthodox countries. In the summer of 1954, with the active participation of the RSCM, a large meeting of Orthodox youth was called which resulted in the foundation of an Orthodox Youth Association named "Syndesmos", which now holds regular inter-Orthodox conferences and has a permanent board of directors (its president being Mr. Meyendorff, a member of the RSCM).

The RSCM publishes a quarterly review, *The Messenger*, with the participation of prominent scholars and writers who share the ideas of the RSCM.

In 1926, some members of the Russian and the British Student Christian Movement founded the Fellowship of St. Sergius and St. Alban. At the meetings of this Fellowship general problems of Christian teaching are discussed with the participation of Orthodox and Anglican theologians. In recent years the RSCM and the British SCM have organized ecumenical conferences with the participation of representatives of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Orthodox Churches. There also exists an ecumenical study group of Orthodox, Catholics and Protestants, who meet regularly to discuss dogmatic problems.

Such are the outward facts concerning the history and activity of the Russian Student Christian Movement. What are its inner motives? In distinction to other Student Christian Movements which are based on the study of the Holy Scriptures, our Movement is based not only on the Word of God but also on the living reality of this Word — the Church. The fullness and power of the Church are inexhaustible — many ways lead to it whenever the soul is seeking after God. For us the word "Church" does not only mean church services, but includes all the manifestations of God's truth in the world. Our Orthodox conception of the Church does not separate the "visible" and "invisible" Church, although we do not confound them; this is the reason why the "nurture" received from the Church does not include only the sacramental sphere but the life of the Church as a whole. The guiding principle of the Movement consists in its endeavour to be nourished by the Church, to enter into both its outward and its inner mysterious life. We are united by our Orthodox

faith, but this does not weaken the personal spiritual life of the individual member, his personal participation in the Holy Communion.

We live outside our native country, but we know that faith in Christ our Saviour and love for the Church are alive and deep in Russia. And we are also convinced that our Movement will make a contribution to the future resurrection of Russia in which, we believe, the Church will become a leading and creative force. Then our Movement will, from an émigré organization, become an all-Russian Student Christian Movement.

Canon Tissington Tatlow, D. D.

Tissington Tatlow, who died on October 3, 1957, in his eighty-second year, was a prominent figure in Federation circles from 1898, when he attended his first WSCF conference, until 1932 when he attended his last General Committee. There were giants in these days! John R. Mott and Ruth Rouse, as Federation secretaries, could rely upon the powerful support, and challenging criticism, of a handful of long-term national general secretaries. Of these Tatlow from Britain and Rutgers from the Netherlands were undoubtedly the greatest. Anyone with an interest in reading old Minutes and correspondence would discover the conviction, the passion, the energy, which went into creating a truly international and ecumenical movement. We take for granted today much that we owe to the creative planning, vigorous discussion, and sheer hard thinking of these pioneers.

Miss Rouse, in her history of the first thirty years of the Federation, relegates Tatlow to a footnote, but one which occupies half a page of small print! She refers to him by his affectionate nickname, "T", and after chronicling his offices in the WSCF and the SCM, writes: "His services to the Federation have been so conspicuous and many-sided — missionary, social, apologetic, educational, ecumenical, and editorial — that the author has completely failed to find the appropriate niche for biographical information about him in any special chapter and, with apologies, must place him in this footnote to his nickname." When Miss Rouse was editing the *History of the Ecumenical Movement* she frequently complained to me of T's dilatoriness in preparing his admirable chapter on "Faith and Order". I always felt it was the humorous rough justice of an Irishman!

Yet a "footnote" was not altogether an unsuitable place for T. He did not become an officer of the WSCF until he was appointed vice-chairman from 1922 until 1928. He was one who cared about the Federation so fundamentally that he was prepared to work behind the scenes, and not infrequently to take an unpopular line. He was no docile figure-head but a force to be reckoned with.

Three of T's particular interests in the Federation still have their relevance. The first was the care with which he brought students from other countries to the international and missionary Quadrennial Conferences of the British SCM. For many years these Conferences assembled a larger Federation company than could meet elsewhere. In this way national Movements were strengthened, and even brought

into existence. Many European and Asian leaders had their ecumenical baptism in a British city and never ceased to be grateful to the man who had invited them and enabled them to come. A parallel initiative was the founding of Student Movement House in London, which pioneered as an Overseas Students' Club. Appropriately the suggestion of such a club came from Henry-Louis Henriod, then on the staff of the British SCM and later to be a general secretary of the Federation.

Second I would place T's interest in bringing Orthodox movements and leaders fully into the life of the Federation. I remember how he came back from the Nyborg Strand meeting of the General Committee in 1926 on fire with the new ecumenical spirit evidenced there. (This meeting, it may be noted, came just before the Faith and Order Conference at Lausanne in 1927, in which T was deeply involved.) The immediate practical result was the founding of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, and the steady succession of Anglo-Orthodox student conferences. T was quick to make friends with men and women who were naturally in the minority at Federation meetings. He had an uncanny way of putting himself in their position and encouraging them to make their contribution. There must have been sad and grateful hearts in the Theological Institute of St. Sergius in Paris when the news of T's death reached them.

Third comes the whole complex of European Student Relief and International Student Service, which has resulted in World University Service. Some day someone will untangle the long and ardent controversy which went on in the Federation while this difficult and precocious child was being born! It began with compassion, passed through theology, and came out as civilization! But T was always clear where he stood. He believed that from the disinterested impulse of student relief a new movement had been created which must be given its own life. For many years he was the very active chairman of International Student Service. Sitting behind the table in clerical dress he presided over a company of men and women with the most diverse opinions. Their respect for the Anglican Canon was at the centre of their strange solidarity. In a period when a new and most stimulating dogmatism was coming into vogue, T helped to develop an equally important basis of toleration. Without T relationships of great value for the life of the universities might well have been lost.

ROBERT C. MACKIE.

Ecumenical Essay Competition 1957

The results of the first Ecumenical Essay Competition have been announced by the international jury appointed by the Scholarships Committee of the World Council of Churches, Geneva.

The first prize of Swiss Francs 1000 (\$200, £80) goes to Pastor J. J. Beglinger of the village of Bilten, Switzerland. No second prize is awarded, but three equal third prizes of Swiss Francs 250 each go to the Rev. Daniel Doraisany of the Tamil Evangelical Church at Sulur, Coimbatore District, South India, Pastor J. G. Bodmer of the Reformed Church of Geneva, and Pastor Henri Chavannes of Broye, Switzerland.

In addition "honourable mentions" are accorded to the Rev. D. A. Koranteng of Kumasi, Ghana; Pastor A. T. Nyemb of the French Cameroons; the Rev. Dr. P. A. Eldernbosch of Amersfoort, Holland, and Pastor Manfred Otto of Horgen, Switzerland.

The Essay Competition was open to young pastors and missionaries under the age of forty. There were twenty-one entries from thirteen countries (Australia, Canada, Denmark, England, French Cameroons, Ghana, Germany, Greece, Holland, India, Japan, Switzerland, and the United States of America). The subject set was "The biblical view of the relation between the mission of the Church and its unity, and the implications of this view for the ecumenical movement". Twelve essays were submitted in English, six in German, and three in French. The jury included four nationalities (Danish, German, English, and American). It is expected that a second competition will be held in 1958 the details of which will be announced.

AMERICAN TRAVEL DIARY

MAURICIO LOPEZ

PART II

Nicaragua, December 3-8, 1956

A leaden grey sky and a great lake of still water captures one's vision on arriving at Managua. In the background, standing out on the horizon, is the sombre mass of the volcano Momotombo, which lies in its threatening sleep of centuries. The enormous mechanical bird came down gently in the airport at Las Mercedes, and on getting down from the plane, I found myself surrounded by the friendly faces of Rev. Lloyd Wyse, Rev. Adolfo Robleto and Rev. Ariel Sambrano. It was extremely hot and the streets of Managua were absorbed in the silence which announces a long siesta. The houses hidden behind the decorative creepers, *bugambilias* were closed to the outside world and turned towards the freshness of the interior patios. It was not easy to bear the continual bath of strong light, so we too looked for the fresh shelter of a shady home with Mr. and Mrs. Wyse. In the most propitious hour of the evening we went out to reconnoitre the city, and from the hill of the presidential palace we contemplated a most delightful view. A new city has taken the place of the old Managua which was destroyed almost entirely by an earthquake and fire in the year 1931. When we came down it was night, and the streets of the city were peopled with multiple signs of life. From door to door, patio to patio, people conversed in a sweet and sonorous Spanish that little by little has lost its original hardness. They are affable and hospitable, well disposed towards the stranger.

On the night of my arrival we got together with leaders and students. I was greatly surprised to find how seriously they had taken our invitation, and that arrangements had already been made to facilitate the sending of a delegation to Santa Ana. At the end of our talk a lively debate ensued with respect to the work of the Federation all over the world. In the main they are students of the Baptist College, which has a very good name in Managua. The only university centre in the country was transferred some years ago to the city of Leon. The day after my arrival, I visited with Rev.

Robleto the colossal building of the Baptist Church in Managua, which has possibly the largest membership of any Evangelical church in Central America. The extraordinary efforts of the members made possible the erection of this temple, counted among the most notable buildings of the city.

I had the pleasure of visiting Leon, the second city of the republic and famed for its traditions of political liberalism. For many years the city disputed the capital with Granada, cradle of conservatism, until in the end good sense prevailed in the election of Managua, a humble town of fisherfolk, equidistant from the other two cities, to be the future capital. We also visited the old cathedral of the purest colonial style under the naves of which lie the remains of Ruben Dario, the great bard of Nicaragua, who came here to die in 1916 after many years of wanderings abroad. In Leon you find the Evangelical Front of Nicaragua University (FEDUN) which works under the intelligent leadership of Rev. Heriberto Vazquez, correspondent of the Federation. It has a good group of students mainly of the faculty of medicine, who unfortunately were at the time hard pressed by preparations for examinations. This difficulty accompanied us often in our travels, accentuated by differences in the academic year in different countries, and at times deprived us of the attendance of valuable students. The FEDUN publishes a review, small in size and irregular in its publication, entitled *Crisopeya* — the art of converting metals into gold — taken as a symbol of what the Gospel of redemption can do among men.

It was late when we left Leon and over the city reigned a total calm. The people go to bed early because nobody wants to be counted seditious. You must remember that only a few months ago shots had taken the life of President Somoza, and that in these days the circumstances of his death were being made known.

On my arrival in Managua I was surprised to see many houses with altars dedicated to the Virgin. During the night the prayers and chants of the simple people tell of devotion to Mary. They are meetings which announce the fiesta of the Purisima fixed for December 8. The preparations increase in intensity until the arrival of the festal day. Then breaks out an infernal frenzy combined with fearful outbursts of firework displays, plus a generous distribution of alcoholic drinks, all of which reveal a pagan background more than a match for a superficial form of Christianity. We had to raise our voices so that the young people in the Baptist church — more than 200 of them — could hear what we were saying. At twelve o'clock at night there was no escape to be found anywhere from the shouting outside, and there was nothing to alleviate our sadness. Only the hope

remains that some day the word of the living Christ will free us from those ancient pagan figures that still bear us down with their deadly weight.

After a few hours rest during the night a taxi picked me up at five o'clock in the morning to take me to the airport. I cannot but recall with sincere gratitude the good brethren of Nicaragua who did so much to make my stay comfortable.

Honduras, December 8-14, 1956

From the air one views the thick, unbroken Honduras jungle following the winding course of the river, and the erratic contours of the mountains, with no sign of human life anywhere.

Tegucigalpa, set among the hills, sheltered us with its proverbial calm. On leaving the airport we met John Radtcliff, a Baptist missionary. In spite of having been only a short time in the country, he speaks with a polished accent and a broad knowledge of Spanish. He is a distinguished man in every sense of the word, a missionary who combines a splendid grasp of theology with a strong evangelical fervor. Young and strong, he has come to Honduras not just to scratch the surface of the missionary problem, but to get to know from inside the milieu where he labours, without that superiority complex which so often produces a divorce between the missionary and his actual social surroundings.

Radtcliff had to leave almost immediately for the Atlantic coast. "Do you want to come with me?", he asked. "Delighted", I replied, and by so doing I anticipated by three days my visit to San Pedro Sula, where we arrived after seven tedious hours of road travel, having passed *en route* the vast banana plantations of the United Fruit Company. The labour must be hard and tiring in such a suffocating climate. All the workmen hold in their hands the long and ambiguous tool called the *machete*. Sometimes it is just the peaceful tool of the labourer; other times it becomes a terrible weapon of death.

San Pedro, the Atlantic capital, in the beautiful and fertile valley of Sula, is a typical Caribbean city, and is warm, humid, and very miserly as far as refreshing breezes are concerned. For years the Evangelical Reformed Church has worked in this region, and within its organization the missionaries Auler, father and son, served the Lord faithfully. The educational work has had a great influence on the district largely through the means of an Evangelical college. In addition, an excellent radio station puts these missionaries in communication with other Christian centres up and down the country which hardly could be contacted otherwise. A group of Christian

students of about forty members holds sessions for prayer and Bible study in the same college, and spreads out from there in evangelistic activities. Harold Auler Jr. had already prepared his delegation for the Santa Ana conference, at which he himself was to take quite a leading part.

We began our return journey to Tegucigalpa after expressing our gratitude to the Auler family for all their kindness. The capital of Honduras presents a peaceful and affable physiognomy of the older colonial type together with the vibrations of a modern American city. In its main square you will find the statue of Morazán, national hero of Honduras, who struggled all his life for the Federation of Central America. My mission led me to interview some missionaries among whom I found those who looked with a little suspicion on student work with its ecumenical viewpoint. Naturally one senses a feeling of isolation which conspires against the development of our work. However, I maintained some personal contacts with Evangelical Christian students who, though unable to attend the Santa Ana meetings because of academic obligations, showed an interest in the formation of a student group there.

El Salvador, December 14, 1956 - January 7, 1957

This may well be called the country of volcanoes. There is not a landscape in the country that does not bear the marks of the underground fire which pours down the mountainside from their high and majestic cones. Men have become accustomed to this dangerous neighbourhood and do not withdraw their feet. They have built poor hamlets at the foot of these disturbing presences, and when destruction and death draw near (San Salvador has been destroyed seven times in four centuries) they abandon the place for a time, only to return with fresh hopes as soon as the immediate danger is past. As the country has a small area and a dense population, every possible space of ground is cultivated. For that reason it is common to see coffee plantations on the hillsides stretching up to the tops of the mountains and taking advantage of the fertility of the reddish earth enriched with volcanic lava. These conditions of life demonstrate the courage and stoicism of the Salvador people. A diplomat from the North who explored these countries on horseback at the beginning of last century refers with admiration to the industry and patience of these people, who struggle against the repeated blows of misfortune with never a thought of yielding.

It was in this country that we had decided to hold one of our student courses. We gladly record the collaboration of Rev. Thomas

Dixon, general secretary of the Baptist Mission in El Salvador and correspondent for the Federation. He has been a decided enthusiast for work among students and thanks to his efforts a group of keen young people has been formed. I must not forget to mention the fervent dedication manifested by Rev. Eugenio Cedarholm to whom the success of the Santa Ana conference owes a lot, and in whose home I received such Christian care.

After a short stay in the capital, where I made contacts with different groups and religious leaders of several denominations, I went on to Santa Ana, some fifty kilometres from the capital and the site of our coming conference. In the preparatory arrangements I had the efficient help of the staff of the Baptist high school.

The conferences of Santa Ana and Mexico

Two leadership training courses were held in the months of December and January, the first in Santa Ana, El Salvador, for students of Central America, and the second in Mexico City. Both conferences were led by a group of three: Valdo Galland, WSCF Associate General Secretary; Dick Shaull, General Secretary of the SCM in Brazil, and Mauricio Lopez, WSCF secretary of Latin America. They followed up the work done by the Federation in recent years through courses given at Sitio das Figuerias, Brazil (1952), Matanzas, Cuba (1953-54), and Cochabamba, Bolivia (1955-56).

The conference in El Salvador was housed in the beautiful buildings of the Baptist high school in Santa Ana, the second city of the country and its main coffee market. There students from Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, and Cuba met together with representatives from the Baptists, Evangelical and Reformed, Waldensians, Presbyterians, Plymouth Brethren, Methodists, and the Central American Mission.

The general theme of both conferences — "The Vocation of the Christian Student" — was treated in the following addresses: "The call of God and man's answer", "The Church and its mission", "The Church, its unity and divisions", "Christians in the university", "Responsibility of the SCM in the Latin American university", "Christ and Christians in social and political life", "The Christian student in the Latin American situation", "Personal spiritual life", "Personal problems in the realm of ethics" and "Our responsibility towards others". The addresses were followed by group discussions.

At both Santa Ana and Mexico the program gave rise to an intense devotional life. Specially prepared liturgical services were used in the more formal morning sessions, and although the large



majority of students came from the free churches, this form of divine service found unreserved acceptance as a valuable means of religious inspiration. At noon there were periods of intercession for all men everywhere, for students, and for the Church. In the evening the meetings were more informal and spontaneous, and members of different delegations took part.

The Bible studies at both conferences, entitled "The Church and its Mission", were based on passages from the Acts of the Apostles. Open discussion was held on various aspects of SCM life, such as "Evangelization and the social action of the SCM", "Programs of study and camps", "The beginnings and organization of the SCM", and "Devotional life and Bible study".

Santa Ana has given a new impetus to the work of the Federation in Central America. The students who attended returned to their homes with a clearer consciousness of their mission as witnesses of Jesus Christ in the university. Small in numbers, harassed by the distrust of certain churches, struggling against the indifference of the mass of their fellow students, they show a desire for service which gives us great hope for the future of the SCM in that part of America.

After a lapse of only three days and a journey of several hundred miles, the course in Mexico City began in the student home, *Moises Saena*, of the Presbyterian Mission. This conference, the first to be held for a single country, was organized with the active cooperation of the Student Christian Movement of Mexico, an associate Movement of the Federation. About eighty people were present, and the participation of one student from the United States, one from Cuba, and one from Venezuela gave a certain international flavour to the meetings. The presence of Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Disciples of Christ, Baptists, Waldensians, Plymouth Brethren, and Lutherans was a practical demonstration of the ecumenical spirit.

For the first time in the history of leadership training courses held in Latin America, a special section was devoted to theological students. The experiment produced splendid results; the close and friendly contact between theologians and students of other faculties enabled them to gain a clearer vision of their respective vocations. The subjects treated in this special section included; "The evangelistic and ecumenical duty of the pastor", "The Church in a society in process of rapid social change", "Nurture and orientation of church members", "New forms of ministry in the Church", "Renewal of the pastor", and "The main theological trends of today".

If the course in Santa Ana opened as it were a door of hope, that of Mexico was full of promise. With such a passionate and vigilant

race as the Mexican, the steadfastness of a faith that has been through the fire, the quality of young students anxious to learn and to serve, and under the wise guidance given by church leaders, we are encouraged in all seriousness to expect the fulfilment of the promise that Christ's Gospel in the fullness of its blessing will penetrate into the very heart of academic life.

As a means to this end we are happy that, thanks to the generous help of the Presbyterian Mission, it has been possible for the first time to nominate a full-time secretary of the Student Christian Movement, whose sphere of action will reach all over Mexico. Rev. Armando Divas has been appointed to this post, a man whose talent and capacity lead us to expect much.

Guatemala, February 7-12, 1957

After the Mexican courses I made a rapid visit to Guatemala. The plane turned round and round like an eagle waiting to fall on its prey, and finally descended among ochre mountains that break the skyline on all sides. From time to time and from the strangest angles the city of Guatemala came into view, looking from the air like a perfect chessboard. The Clipper set down on the spacious asphalt runway of the Aurora airport, and I was in the country that was the cradle of the ancient Maya civilization whose descendants still live in the fertile valleys so full of colour and appeal. It is no accident that the quetzal with its refulgent plumage and love of freedom has been chosen as the national symbol. For one day I was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Wallis, and then I stayed with Armando Divas. In Guatemala there is one of the best organized Evangelical Student Associations of all Latin America, the Christian Association of University Students that has been moulded with much intelligence and dedication by Rev. Bob Thorp. On two occasions I was granted the opportunity of speaking to that group, one Saturday night, on "The Christian and Academic Life", and one Sunday morning in a meeting for fellowship and prayer on "The Witness of the Christian University Student". After both these talks there were prolonged and lively debates.

With Thorp and Divas we visited several churches and theological seminaries. By and large there is a good spirit of comradeship among the different denominations. There are those who meet together in the Evangelical Alliance, while others prefer to stay on the margin. An Association of Pastors that includes most of the denominations sometimes arranges united gospel campaigns. Another work that calls for praise is that carried on among the indigenous people. The

missions maintain some half dozen Bible Institutes for preparing Indians of higher capacity to become leaders among their own tribes.

The Roman Catholics have to face the problem, not only in Guatemala but everywhere, of the lack of priestly vocation. Until quite recently the number of Evangelical pastors was almost double that of national Catholic priests. Since the last revolution more than a thousand priests brought from abroad have been incorporated into the Roman Catholic Church in Guatemala, and their influence makes itself felt above all in the educational field, though in this as in other aspects of national life they have to face strong opposition from the liberals. The separation of Church and state assures so far the continuance of freedom of worship.

As for the Evangelical Church, everything indicates a steady progress. To give you some idea, in the capital itself there are more than a hundred places of worship, a fact which reveals a strong evangelical zeal among the Guatemaltecos. This advance has its repercussions in university centres, and the ACU plays a predominant part because it has faithfully fulfilled its task in deepening Christian life and in encouraging its members to take an active part in their academic centres.

Before leaving, we invited Bob Thorp in the name of the Federation to make an extended visit to the various countries of Central America and so to give the growing groups of Christian students there the benefit of his experience.

The Caribbean world, February 12-24, 1957

These islands — I visited Cuba, Jamaica, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico — are the golden gate of the American Mediterranean. From Florida to Trinidad two defensive arches are formed which protect the riches of Texas and Mexico, the strange world of the American Isthmus, the heights of Colombia and the prairies of the Orinocco. These islands have produced admirable mestizo civilisations which form a constant challenge to greed, discipline, and uniformity. They constitute a microcosm of brilliant and varied beauty. Peoples, customs, political situations, economic diversity, and climate form a polychrome mosaic. For this reason they have a world-wide appeal. Long journeys through territories of Cuba, Jamaica, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico gave me a good idea of Christian work in general and its impact among students in particular. For reasons of space I must leave further details for another time.

Brazil, March 24 - April 22, 1957

From Belen in the north to Porto Alegre in the south I travelled thousands of kilometres by land and air over this fabulous country. Modern Recife, traditionalist Bahia, beautiful Rio de Janeiro, feverish Sao Pablo, dynamic Porto Alegre, all contain Associations of Academic Christians — ACA — whose groups I had the pleasure of getting to know and of addressing. Allow me to say in passing that the Student Christian Movement of Brazil (UCEB) is unequalled anywhere in our continent as to organization, leadership, and seriousness of program. I will enlarge on this on another occasion.

Soon after returning to my own country (Argentina) I made a short trip to Santiago, Chile, to take part in the National Congress of the Student Christian Movement which took place May 19-21, 1957 with the presence of representatives from Concepcion, Santiago, and Valparaiso. In the month of June I travelled to Montevideo, Uruguay, to attend the deliberations on "The Common Christian Responsibility for Areas of Rapid Social Change", sponsored by the World Council of Churches.

SCANDINAVIAN TRAVEL DIARY

An account of visits to Schools Movements in Finland, Sweden, and Norway

FRANK GLENDENNING

PART II

To Sweden

After a most pleasant and worthwhile day I left Helsinki at 8 p.m. for Stockholm. This time it was possible to see where we were going. The last memory that I shall take with me from this trip was the lovely setting sun, and the myriads of streams and lakes below that seemed to have assembled to say goodbye, glistening in the half light. When I got to Stockholm I felt curiously fitter as soon as I left the plane. We had made fun of my always being sleepy in Finland, but I had a curious sickly feeling for some of the time. I now realized that the Northern atmosphere had really had something to do with it. We tend to forget how far away Finland is from the Western parts of Europe, and how far north it is also.

As I landed therefore at Stockholm airport, I reflected on the marvels of God's goodness in giving us the Federation. Two hours before, I had said goodbye to Risto in the centre of Helsinki, and had tried to say how much I had enjoyed my visit and how very impressed I had been with everything I had seen of the SCM's work. Now I was in Sweden for the beginning of another experience, and welcomed so kindly and graciously by Jan-Erik Wikström, the General Secretary of the Free SCM, and Gunnar Weman, the Foreign Secretary of the Church of Sweden SCM, both old friends. After a short wait, T. V. Philip arrived from Geneva. The noise we made in greeting him obviously assured the customs official of his bona fides, for he merely shook hands with T. V. and chalked his bags. We were soon in Gunnar's car speeding to Sigtuna, north of Stockholm, to join the Nordic Leadership Training Course, which had begun that evening. It was good to meet more old friends — Erik and Johannes Aagaard from Denmark, Lars Thunberg from Sweden who was Chairman of

the course, and Rune Pär Olofsson, General Secretary of the Church of Sweden SCM. T. V. had come prepared for the cold, and was impressed to find that Sweden was free from snow and ice (this far south at any rate) and that it was actually warm enough to sleep with the window wide open.

Sigtuna itself is, to use the words of the Blue Guide, "a little town of narrow crooked streets, nestling among trees, occupying a site of idyllic beauty on the Skarben, a long arm of Lake Mälaren". Its present quiet appearance, with one-way traffic in the main street, belies the part that it has played in Swedish history in the past, and the contribution that it is making to Swedish society and to the whole Christian Church in the present. Founded early in the eleventh century, it soon rose to be the foremost town in Sweden. With the rise of Stockholm in the thirteenth century Sigtuna's commercial influence declined, but with the founding of a Dominican monastery in 1247, it remained an important intellectual centre. After the Reformation it dwindled into insignificance.

Today with a population of under 3,000 it is world famous as the centre of Sigtunastiftelsen — the Sigtuna Foundation. Founded in 1917 by Manfred Björkquist, later to be Bishop of Stockholm, the Foundation with its massive buildings contains a chapel, a conference centre, a guest house, a folk high school, the humanistic school, and a library of over 60,000 books. It is also closely associated with the Nordic Ecumenical Institute, which stands a little further down the road towards the town. Olov Hartman, the Director, has written at length about the task of the Foundation in his book published by the SCM Press called *The Sigtuna Foundation*. It is the forerunner of all lay academies in the Church.

It is a friendly, welcoming place, and it was ideal for the Leadership Training Course, being so well-known to most of those who took part, and through the very spaciousness of the buildings and the grounds enabling the seventy members of the course to have the necessary freedom for worship, commissions, and group discussions. All the Nordic SCMs were represented, that is to say, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, and there was a representative from Iceland also. It was a time for the renewal of old friendships and the making of new ones. I was happy to meet, for the first time, the new General Secretary of the Norwegian SCM, Louis Schaefer (who is going to enliven our European staff meetings rather a lot!), and the Associate General Secretary of the Finnish SCM, Aili Rytönen, and many other friends.

The main purpose of my being there was to help with the discussion of high school questions, and to speak to the whole meeting

on the WSCF's policy for the expansion of schools work. T. V.'s main responsibility, apart from officially representing the WSCF staff, was to help with the discussions on the "Mission of the Church" project.

This leadership course was strongly rooted in worship and Bible study, and on the Sunday we were able to share in the Communion of the Swedish Church.

All the discussion that took place was closely related to the life of the Nordic Movements, but it was of general importance also. We had good discussions on the nature of student congregations (a growing talking point all over Scandinavia), methods of Bible study, the place of schools work in our life in the WSCF, and the central importance of the 1960 Mission of the Church project. There was also commission work which dealt with all these questions, as well as planning the program for the Scandinavian Summer Conference in 1958. The ground was covered thoroughly, and it was seen against the background of national reports, which had helped us at the beginning of the course to get "the feel" of each of the situations represented.

The work of the schools commission revolved around the theme of school-centred or church-centred work. This problem has become quite important in Europe, and the October issue of the *Schools News Letter* will be directed towards this theme. Everywhere in Europe new schools are being built to meet the rising birth rate since the war. As therefore our work develops in the schools, it is crucial to be clear about our policy in starting new schools branches. Just before I left Sigtuna on August 29, I attended a meeting of the Church of Sweden SCM in Schools committee, with some of the staff of the Free Church SCM. We had a good discussion about just this problem, and the group decided that the future development of high school work in Sweden needed close scrutiny by the United Committee of the Swedish SCMs.

We talked in the commission also about the ways in which school Movements could help one another. For instance the Norwegian SCMHS is small. Could perhaps the Swedish Movements help here? The Finnish SCMHS would like more international participation in its high schools camps. Could the Nordic Movements help here? Could each Movement help to consolidate the international exchange of leaders and boys and girls that has now been going on since 1955? What could we learn from one another about methods of work? In what way can the schools Movements share in the Mission of the Church project? This was a lively commission and for me at any rate it clarified many things about our work in the Nordic countries.

I should mention two excursions that I made while at Sigtuna. On the last day, the 29th, we all went to Uppsala, calling at a remarkable seventeenth century Swedish castle on the way. Uppsala is a fine old town with its ancient cathedral and university. But I must admit that my most important discovery was the Västerort Church at Vällingby, a new housing estate just outside Stockholm.

Jan-Erik took T. V. and me there one afternoon and I would not have missed it for anything. The whole area is a most attractive piece of modern town planning and architecture and the church fits admirably into its setting, next to an eleven-storey apartment building in the centre of the town. Built by the Mission Covenant Church, it is designed by the two Swedish architects Nyren and Engstrand. The exterior has almost a cubist effect, which is at once striking. The architects envisaged the exterior of the building as being like the prow of a boat reaching out into the town. The interior is a marvellous achievement of asymmetry, light, line, and liturgical correctness. The sanctuary is dominated by a great cross, created by the artist Sjöström. It is in symbolic design combining the slender cross over which is superimposed "the eye of the needle". This, he says, emphasizes "the severity, the extreme difficulty of the Cross". But inside the eye, so to speak, the flood of light above it coming down a shaft in the wall from the roof is caught by white surfaces angled on the wall. It gives a most effective result of spaciousness, and the heavens opened to receive the worship of the church. The finely designed pulpit, the simple communion table standing in the middle of a spacious sanctuary, and the fine organ in the sanctuary to balance the pulpit and to bear witness to the important function of music in Christian worship, all add to the tremendous atmosphere of the church. Some will say that atmosphere comes from praying in a church, but it depends very much on the architect as well, and here these two Swedish architects have given us an atmosphere which is remarkable for its authenticity. It is a bold and effective contribution to modern church architecture. The congregation gave the architects a free hand — remarkable in itself, and the Mission Covenant Church had the boldness to employ architects with imagination and feeling. They have contributed a building of real significance for the debate about the Church and the Arts in our generation.

To Norway

I left Sigtuna on August 29, after a most enjoyable and interesting time, greatly appreciating the hospitality and solicitude of the staffs of the Swedish SCMs, and grateful for their work. I spent the

night in Stockholm, and then early on the thirtieth was on a plane bound for Oslo, *en route* for Bergen to visit the SCM in Schools there.

I had a three hours' wait in Oslo and was quite glad for the rest. The journey over the mountains had been rough. It was only compensated by the lovely run in over the Oslo Fjord. It was a cloudy day up above and on the ground at Oslo it was pouring with rain. The airport nonetheless was a hive of activity, and U.S. Army helicopters came in and out, all the time I was there. Then on to Bergen at midday, with the weather better and visibility better too. Finland and Sweden from the air look almost black with their many forests, but as we approached the West coast of Norway, the trees looked greener, and here and there in the valleys lovely patches of sunlit field. Rugged mountains turned to knobbly hills. Lakes, islands, fjords, enchanting green translucent water and the sun, put me in a very good mood to receive Bergen. As we came near to the airport I felt that this was going to be good.

Set in a fjord, partly on a peninsula, and surrounded by its seven hills, Bergen looks wonderful. It is a town of about 100,000 people. Its inhabitants only recognize Oslo as being of greater importance! But it looks smaller than this, because much of it is built up the side of the hills, with some striking examples of modern multi-storey apartment buildings.

I was met at the air terminal by Lars Gjerde, one of the student leaders of the Bergen SCM. He drove me to his home a few miles outside the town, where I was to stay with his family. His father, who is a dentist, and his mother cared for me wonderfully, as did Lars, and I spend a most happy time there. My program was not as full as it had been elsewhere, and I was quite glad, for it gave me time to enjoy my first visit to this lovely country.

My chief assignment in Bergen was to take a short Leadership Training Course on three afternoons. We began a few hours after I arrived and so were soon hard at work, in a fine new parish hall (as we would call it) quite near where I was staying. There I met Ingunn Eide, a student of philology and the Bergen SCM Secretary, and Arne Irgens, both of whom I had got to know at Sigtuna. I met also Esther, Arne's sister, still at school and the most competent chairman of the Bergen SCM in Schools committee. The leaders of the Bergen SCM are all young, some are still at high school, but it was a most welcome discovery to find the zest and the energy with which they approached their work. This group (their leadership group) with whom I was to work principally, numbered about two dozen, between sixteen and twenty years of age.

So we began on August 29, first by my telling them about the WSCF and their part in it, and then discussing together the problems of high school boys and girls. We had chosen this theme for discussion first, so that we could introduce in a realistic way the question of evangelism, which we took up on the second day. The third day was Sunday, and some of us went to church together at the cathedral in the morning, followed by a trip in the funicula to the top of Fløyen, one of Bergen's seven hills. Here we had a fascinating view of Bergen and the town fjord. It lay before us in that panoramic way that is the tourist's dream, a football match in the distance (obviously we were not in England on a Sunday), and sailing boats dotted about in the fjord. It was Sunday and a holiday and the city of Bergen nestled cosily in the valley, jutting out at its central point into the fjord below us. We left there and went back for dinner, and then on to a four-hour session on "Christian Leadership". It was a good evening as all three evenings had been. Leadership for them was a serious business. Serious, because many of them found it difficult to be known publicly as Christians. How should they speak with their fellows? and when? and where? how could the SCM contribute to the life of the school? how could they learn to be better and more articulate Christians?

It was most rewarding to sit down with these boys and girls and to talk with them. We got to know one another quite well in those few hours together and it was well worth the visit to Bergen, to have experienced this, and met this daring group of young people.

Monday September 2 was my last day. In the morning I was interviewed by one of the local papers, a fearsome battery of questions about the WSCF and the British SCM for three-quarters of an hour! Then I had the pleasure of meeting Ingunn Eide's family for dinner. Her father, now a pastor and a training college lecturer, had been a Bergen SCM Secretary before her, and had attended the 1938 General Committee at Bièvres. We took out the photograph of that General Committee and talked about many mutual acquaintances and friends, most of whom looked a lot younger in those days, not least a dashing young Frenchman, who had signed himself on the back "Ph. Maury".

I visited the SCM's splendid new office and in the evening attended a meeting of the high school branch in a room at the university. Here was a quite amazing group of young people, about a hundred boys and girls from thirteen to twenty. Here and there were rivetted jeans and Tony Curtis cuts. I was fascinated at the way in which they were able to sustain the interest of this large group of such mixed ages, by having a "round table discussion" between two teachers

and three boys and girls, on the need for co-operation between pupils and teachers and the role of the Christian in the school.

I spoke to them briefly about the WSCF and then came the time to say goodbye. I was to leave the next morning on the third, flying to London, in order to be back in Hull that night. I had really enjoyed this visit very much and it seemed to typify the vigorous impression that I had of the Bergen schools work that I should have moved in a progress from leaders to the branch itself. Here was the raw material so to speak. Here were boys and girls with a vision of life in Christ but with their problems of growing up, and of coming to terms with the world. Most of the leaders there are under twenty, and they demonstrated as clearly as I have seen the vigour with which committed young people can really get on with the job. I came away quite convinced that leadership training in this unfamiliar age-group of sixteen to nineteen, say, is a real possibility, and would repay further study. My Finnish experience had been confirmed.

And back again

On September 3, I was away — a lovely trip over the South-Western fjords to Stavanger, for a half hour wait for the Oslo connection, and then to London. It had been a good month and I came back in an enthusiastic frame of mind. The customs clearance was as grotesque as usual (will *we* never learn to treat the traveller as a human being?), and the bus journey to Waterloo never so long. Frances was at the Air Terminal to meet me and we prattled happily for the next six hours on our way to Hull and home to enjoy my memories (as well as her's) of August 1957.

The mail which had accumulated for me during August, from many parts of the world, reinforced my impression that schools work is certainly on the move.

BOOK REVIEWS

Christian Faith and Science

A Review Article

SCIENCE AND CHRISTIAN BELIEF, by C. A. Coulson. Oxford University Press, 1955.

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE, by W. A. Whitehouse. Oliver & Boyd, 1952.

MODERN SCIENCE AND CHRISTIAN BELIEFS, by A. F. Smethurst. Nisbet, 1955.

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND NATURAL SCIENCE, by E. L. Mascall. Longmans, 1956.

Other publications mentioned in the text.

Can one stress too much the importance of this subject at the present time ? I do not think so — least of all to Christians. Science is creating a new civilization around us. Scientific skills are becoming the basis of economic life ; scientific techniques are ubiquitous, transforming both the factory and the home. And, not merely the higher standards of living, the greater opportunities or the added powers of modern technology affect us. It is, even more, the subtle changes in our ways of thinking which make science a vital subject today.

Because of the prestige which science now possesses, and because of its undeniable ability to achieve results, science is making a particular impact upon us all : The scientific way of looking at things is increasingly being thought of as the ideal way to understand the world, as well as to control it. The increasing respect being given to scientific ways of understanding things affects both professional and layman, scientist and non-scientist, Christian and non-Christian. To this kind of understanding, the faith professed by Christians often seems old-fashioned, and the man of today, with his technical know-how, does not naturally incline to follow the authority of a Gospel from a pre-scientific era. Besides this, our whole educational system, as Dr. Pollard has pointed out in a recent article,

is geared to the consolidation of this trust in the scientific approach and in man's ability to run his own universe and his own affairs by his own knowledge. In this situation it is we Christians who are challenged. We have only dimly realized what has been happening. But we must try to understand it and to act accordingly. There is a lot of hard thinking to be done. These books represent a part of it.

What then is science ?

And how does it affect Christians or the Church ? The movement which we now call modern science started, speaking very roughly, about four centuries ago. It built upon foundations laid by the Greeks ; it was moulded by practical skills elaborated over generations by the craftsmen of the Middle Ages ; it employed insights partly borrowed from philosophers, partly stumbled upon by eccentric experimenters ; it was motivated partly by the attraction of making nature more useful to man, and partly by a sheer curiosity, sometimes fervently religious, to explore the secrets of the universe. It began, cradled, as it were, within the framework of Christendom ; and its pioneers were frequently teachers in the Christian Church ; nevertheless, as it developed, it proved very disturbing. Among other characteristics, the scientific movement claimed to be subservient to no authority but that of experiment. Gradually, it began to produce results which were in contradiction to long-established teachings of the Church — on the place of the earth in the solar system, on the age of the earth, on the origin of species, on the nature of the soul. Thus, by a succession of clashes, including the pitched-battle debates of Darwinian times, we come to the present day, and to the slogan that "science disproves the Bible".

It would seem to many people — and it is loudly asserted by some — that science has won every bit of this contest : that religion has done nothing but give way and yield ground. The fierce antagonisms of the nineteenth century have given place now to a relatively quiet truce. Is this because the Church has now learned its lesson, viz., to stick to purely spiritual affairs and not to interfere with the proper business of science ? So say the secularists ; and, let us remember, they are the great majority today. Or, is it because science itself has become less arrogant and consequently more tolerant as it itself encountered mysteries in nature ? Or, are Christians just too cowardly now ? Probably there is truth on all sides. Anyhow, we do well to ask, "Why did the conflict occur ?", and "Need this conflict continue ?" or indeed, "Need the conflict have occurred

at all?" Recent writers on this question may be contrasted among themselves as to the position they take up on this issue. Before commenting on the books by Smethurst and Mascall, which are the main target of this review, I shall consider first several authors who, broadly speaking, have emphasized the brighter aspects, and second, some who have examined the difficulties more closely.

Raven and Coulson : Science is revealing God's handiwork

The most extreme on what may be called the optimistic side is Canon Raven. He believes the quarrels need never have taken place. In his Gifford lectures (Cambridge University Press, 1933), Part I, he gives his own detailed and very scholarly account of the growth of science, rejecting completely the idea that science and religion are incompatible and arguing that, with the further development today of biological theory, science is even now coming to an appreciation of the mysteries and unity of nature as religious in essence as any Christian could wish. Canon Raven has restated these views with delightful brevity, and made them widely available, in his *Christianity and Science*, No. 4 of the "World Christian Books" (United Society for Christian Literature, 1955).

Rather similar in tone is the view expressed by Professor C. A. Coulson in *Science and Christian Belief* (Oxford University Press, 1955) and in his Riddell Memorial Lectures, *Christianity in an Age of Science* (also O.U.P., 1953). Truth is one, he insists; therefore the scientist too is bringing us knowledge of God, or at least, of his works, and therefore of his character. Christians must stop fighting a defensive battle, attempting to prove God's existence by pointing to the yet-unsolved mysteries of life. That god is a "god of the gaps": a god whose territory is diminishing with every advance of science: not the Christian God, but an idol, to be abjured. Science and religion need not quarrel, but should respect and aid each other like good neighbours. They cannot, in the nature of things, Coulson argues, be contradictory; therefore they are complementary, he concludes, rather like the wave and particle theories of light. Let Christians then rejoice, for science is showing us something of God that none of his prophets have, or could have, conveyed to us.

There is truth in this, of course. Science and faith should, ideally, be in partnership. The optimistic mood is to be found too in some recent American writers on the subject, notably James B. Conant, e.g., in *Modern Science and Modern Man* (Columbia University Press, 1952), and in E. L. Long's *Science and Christian Faith* (Haddam House, 1950). The latter book, subtitled, "A Study in Partnership",

is especially perspicacious, for here the optimism — the vision of the ideal — is tempered by caution. After giving a history of the rise of science and its alienation from religion, Long examines in careful detail some of the dangers of uncritical capitulation to the current scientific world-view. While science, as a tool for the acquisition of knowledge, is unsurpassed, it has to be borne in mind that ultimacy belongs to religion, not to science, since "interpretation is more ultimate than fact" (i.e., than scientific observations) and "commitment is more ultimate than skill". Thus, for true partnership, scientific skill must be applied in commitment to Christ. This is an excellent book, in the reviewer's opinion; although its small size and its free use of clichés make it appear unscholarly, it is of clear insight and relevance to the modern situation.

Another author who surveys and interprets the history of the growth of science in terms of its impact on Christian faith is Dr. Mary Hesse. In her thoughtful book, *Science and the Human Imagination* (SCM Press, 1954), she shows how the creative aspects of physical science have been very closely related to religious insight, or governed by religious attitudes. Partnership is, in this sense, natural. But she warns us that "there is no satisfying synthesis of science and Christianity this side of the Kingdom of God". This book has been reviewed already in *The Student World*, (1955, p. 204), so it will not be discussed further here. It should be read after Butterfield's excellent book, *Origin of Modern Science* (Bell, 1951. A new edition has just been published).

Not all recent writers (even in the United States!) have presented the relation between science and religion as a happy one. A remarkable and provocative book by W. T. Stace, *Religion and the Modern Mind* (Macmillan, 1953), analyses the disillusionment of modern man, and traces this directly to the scientific picture of a mechanical world. There has certainly been a conflict, Stace makes it very clear, and it continues still, at a level deeper than mere questions of fact. He devotes successive chapters to the consequences of the rise of science, for morals, for religion, and for philosophy. Stace writes as a religious man; to him, "religious feeling" — and he is unwilling to be more specific than that — is an essential, irreplaceable element for human life, despite the scorn of an agnostic scientific age. But if Stace sees such difficulties from purely religious grounds, will a Christian find these problems worse, from the standpoint of specifically Christian belief? "Not at all", Coulson would say; and, "Quite the opposite", Raven would also insist; for the Christian has eyes to see that it is God who is in science and behind science, showing us more of himself. "Rather worse", however, would be

the reply from Whitehouse, since Christian belief is more vulnerable than religious feeling. For myself, though I know and feel what Coulson means, I am inclined to agree more with Whitehouse at this point. I wish now to consider in detail his most incisive, though not very lucid book, which delves deeply and very frankly into this thorny problem, doing so precisely from a Christian point of view.

Whitehouse : "to the scientific attitude... Christian faith seems faintly disreputable"

Whitehouse, like all the authors considered so far, is well aware of the relatedness of scientific work and Christian principles ; and he too is keenly concerned that Christians should have a right appreciation of what science is doing, and should give it the respect it is due. However, he is most of all concerned about certain essential differences which he sees in the basic approach to experience (pre-suppositions) of the scientist, as compared with the basic outlook of the religious man (and, more particularly, of the Christian). There have been others who, for the sake of amicable relations, or because of specialized interests, have tended to belittle or even to pass over these fundamental contrasts. However, Whitehouse feels that it is in the interests of both parties that the differences be faced fairly and squarely. It is not unfriendliness, but mutual concern, that should drive us to scrutinize, with all possible frankness, the divergencies of viewpoint which exist. Furthermore, he does not want to discuss vague generalities : "science and religion...", but chooses to focus attention quite specifically on the clash of scientific thinking with the Christian viewpoint : with "Christian faith professed in its full integrity", as he puts it. Now, what are these divergencies, these fundamental contrasts ?

In an important section (Ch. 3, Pt II), Whitehouse lists five features which he feels to be representative of the framework within which Christian thought must move—features of the Christian world-view which are "so alien to a mind of scientific cast that it is hardly possible to entertain them". For example there is the idea, essential to Christian faith (though not a prerogative of Christian faith), that everything in the universe happens through God's activity. The scientist simply has no evidence of such a thing as this ; he characteristically dislikes making assumptions without evidence, and is therefore inclined to be sceptical. He need not be sceptical, logically ; but in practice, he is inclined to be so. Another example is the belief, also integral to Christian faith, that some Purpose underlies all events. This too, because it cannot be checked and does not affect

experiments, is a conception unpalatable to the scientific mind ; it is given, therefore, no attention by a scientifically thinking person. Still another example, impinging now upon the very hub of Christian doctrine, is the belief on the part of the Christian that in certain quite particular events (the Jesus of history), the meaning and the purpose underlying the universe are disclosed. "It is perfectly clear", remarks Whitehouse, "that a scientist will be averse to such a committal, with all its scandal of particularity". And the whole notion of revelation, which is so central in the Christian understanding, is at variance with the scientific mood. A personal God seeks fellowship with his creatures ; knowledge of him is our only real fulfilment ; sin clouds our perception and thwarts our response ; all this is foreign to the temper of a scientific intellect to whom the way to all knowledge is open, by the intelligent application of exact thinking, and controlled experiment.

These are not the only aspects of Christian faith to which Whitehouse directs attention in this way. A large part of his book consists of an exposition of the Trinity : God the Father (including the Creator), God the Son (including the mystery of the Incarnation), and God the Holy Spirit ; at every point he contrasts scientific outlook with biblical teaching. His summary of the essential elements of scientific thinking (of which he lists six) is in chapter 8, part II.

It must be understood that, by asserting that a person of scientific attitude is averse to Christian faith, Whitehouse is not claiming that science as such refutes Christian faith, or undermines it ; nor is he saying that the people who pursue science are deliberately antagonistic to Christian faith, far less that they have scientific grounds for opposing it. What Whitehouse is emphasizing is that there is such a thing as the scientific attitude, and that this, rather than scientific facts or results or arguments, is of immense significance. The scientific attitude "engenders a cast of mind", he insists, and this, for all its nobility, includes a subtle predisposition away from such features of Christian belief as he exemplifies. "The scientific attitude breeds a scepticism, ... or perhaps an indifference bordering on repudiation."

It is a pity that, by a wealth of really unnecessary biblicisms, Dr. Whitehouse has allowed his work to take a form unpalatable to the average secular reader — whom, nevertheless, he apparently wishes to address ! The book is also rendered difficult to read by its winding, branching style ; and the rather English habit of elaborately cautious avoidance of over-statement does not make reading any easier. Thus, his conclusion is stated characteristically : "There are, I think, factors to be reckoned with in Church thinking which

make it impossible to reduce its difference from scientific thinking beyond a certain point."

Against Whitehouse's thesis as a whole, the criticism may fairly be made that he has been too negative, and has given insufficient attention to a constructive answer, despite his avowed conviction that "a scientific attitude is no bar to the life of faith". It is useful to contrast the more constructive approach that is to be found in the work of Karl Heim, Professor of Theology at Tübingen. Karl Heim's two books, *Christian Faith and Natural Science* and *The Transformation of the Scientific World View* (English edition, both SCM Press, 1953), contain a profoundly imaginative and stimulating analysis, from the point of view of a deeply thinking philosopher, of what science is really doing, and how we Christians should speak to the scientific man. This work has been reviewed already in *The Student World* (by Dr. Mary Hesse, 1953, p. 275), and, in closer detail in the *Christian Scholar* (by Ian Barbour, 1956, p. 229), so I shall not discuss it further here, except for two remarks. First, as to his approach (and "optimism"), Heim is not unlike Raven, in that he believes that recent developments within science itself have been such as to make the scientist more open to the postulates of Christianity now, than, say, a generation ago. Secondly, as to his treatment of the subject, Heim is existentialist — quite unlike any of the books so far mentioned in this review. Persons, personal encounter, personal knowledge and decision are his basic categories.

I turn now to the consideration of two quite recent books, published at almost the same time. Both authors are theologians of the Church of England, with personal experience of training in a branch of science (Smethurst in chemistry, Mascall in mathematics). Though covering virtually the same subject matter, the books do not duplicate one another, but in fact are surprisingly different.

Smethurst: "... science and Christianity need never be in hostility"

Canon Smethurst, feeling, very rightly, that there is always value in a general survey of a subject, perhaps especially by one who is not expert in all the topics referred to, has attempted to draw a comprehensive picture of the relationship between science and Christian faith. His book, *Modern Science and Christian Beliefs* (Nisbet, 1955), does not claim to go into very great depth but does try to be inclusive and systematic in its coverage. Accordingly, a discussion of problems occupies about two-thirds of the book, and these are classified and taken in order. They commence with those connected with the physical sciences (e.g., cosmology); some

problems in biology follow (e.g., evolution); then several problems related to the scientific study of the human body and mind (e.g., in psychology); lastly there is a large group of problems arising out of Christian doctrine (e.g., miracles). This extensive march over many battlefields has the great merit of giving the reader a bird's-eye view: a sort of over-all perspective, which is exhilarating. In the course of the survey, Christian beliefs are repeatedly found to be quite simply enriched by the advent of scientific knowledge. The principle is exemplified by the belief in God as Creator: our conception of God is only all the richer for our knowledge, now, of how vast the universe we live in is, and indeed how very possible it is that there may be other races of intelligent creatures elsewhere in the cosmos. It is valuable here to contrast Whitehouse, who remarks (p. 118), "There is a characteristic Christian doctrine of God the Creator. It is futile to try to bring this concept into line, so far as may be, with what science lets us believe about God. It will be modified out of all recognition." In Smethurst's hands, however, each impact of science is either welcomed as ennobling, or else it is rebuffed with superlative confidence and complete absence of anxiety. An example of the latter is afforded by his treatment of the Virgin Birth: Parthenogenesis is an unlikely thing, it is admitted, but not scientifically impossible, for, after all, ... an egg might begin to divide under the stimulus of some radiation; and the historical evidence is good, so there is really no reason even for the scientist to balk at this doctrine.

Personally, I doubt whether a scientist would be so easily satisfied. But the clue to Smethurst's good cheer is to be found in Part I, which precedes the survey. In these chapters, headed "General Questions", the presuppositions of science are outlined — for example, the assumption of the ordliness of nature, its intelligibility, etc. "Once the presuppositions of science are recognized, there is no danger..." it is stated. For, it is argued, these are theological in character, and science is indebted to Christianity for its use of these ideas, and so science, being thereby founded at rock-bottom on Christian principles, cannot conceivably conflict with Christian belief. Now, that presuppositions are theological in essence, I heartily agree; and that the scientific movement, as a matter of historical fact, gained much of its attitude to nature from concepts of Christianity, I am prepared to accept. (Dr. Hesse's book develops this thesis in some detail; Mr. Mascal's book (see below) is doubtful, however.) But to claim that science could not exist apart from Christian justification for these attitudes appears to me both untrue and unnecessarily arrogant. Yet the assertion is dogmatic: "Only

the full Catholic Christian faith can supply both the necessary theological and philosophical beliefs as to the nature of the universe which are required to justify studying it by the scientific method, and also the impulse and inspiration which will impel men to undertake this study" (p. 20). Can such a thing really be maintained? Presuppositions, surely, are just those very attitudes which are *not* justified by resort to deeper faiths, since they *are* the deepest; but they become self-justified through use, and I would suggest this is virtually their sole justification in the mind of any representative scientific thinker today. Are all scientists in the U.S.S.R. Christian because scientific? As the Hindus, Moslems, or Buddhists in India or Japan build up their scientific and technological institutes, do they at the same time exchange their religion for Christianity? I do not think so. On the contrary, I feel that one of the most vitally important of our tasks today, as Christians, is precisely to see that science, for all its Christian origin, and its Christian associations, and its Christian potentialities, is not *qua* science necessarily thereby Christian in essence or in structure, now. No doubt it could be; perhaps it should be. But we must not confuse our wishful thinking with hard facts.

Mascall: "...it is possible ...to engage in conversation"

Mr. Mascall, a philosopher-theologian in Oxford, writes on virtually the same title, but with rather more soberness. *Christian Theology and Natural Science* (Longmans, Green, 1956) is a scholarly work of great sincerity. Mascall does not range over the totality of possible problems, but selects about six which are then pursued intensively. Consequently his book has not the grandeur of Smethurst's survey. However, his first chapter, on the contacts between science and and theology, sets the scene and provides the context for the detailed studies which follow.

"It is possible for theologians and scientists to engage in intelligent, good-humoured, and fruitful conversation." Such is the basic belief which inspires this work. There is no pretence that to every question an answer can be laid down, nor that spurious answers can always be shot. Indeed, mutual shooting is the antithesis of Mascall's conception of the relationship between science and theology: mutual help is what is required. Hence the scholarly, friendly, and profusely annotated discussions which he conducts, on body and soul, on Creation, on indeterminacy, and other similarly important topics.

The theological position from which Mascall writes is that of neo-Thomism. His handling of the body-mind problem is, therefore,

very different from that of Smethurst, who, acknowledging the far-reaching explanatory power of present-day physiological knowledge, concludes that the word "soul" should now be dropped, and replaced by "self", which, he adds, is more biblical anyway. Mascall, in contrast, cannot renounce a conviction in the soul: "the great tradition of Christian theology... has steadily taught that a human being is a highly mysterious creature, composed of body and soul..." (p. 251). He is well aware that a great current of contemporary philosophy is dead against this, to the point of ridicule; nevertheless, he considers and defends what he feels to be a necessary belief with skill and with dignity. Even if we disagree with his position here — and there are many who will denounce the very questions he raises — we must be grateful for his having written these passages. For the mind-body problem is not solved yet, neither by neurological behaviourism, including the hard-hitting analogies with the behaviour of artifacts, nor by the complementarity principle, which would have us believe that the problem never really existed. The Christian is irrevocably committed to a concept of God as Sovereign, Lord of both man and the universe (this is what creation, speaking theologically, involves); therefore there must be some sense in which our Christian affirmation, "God is a Spirit", is understood to mean that God is distinct from matter and things. But if, by appeal to complementarity, we say that man *is* the material of which he is formed (viewed as a person, of course), then what shall we say of the unique relationship that man has, we believe, with God, who is not material? Or, if we apply complementarity to the universe, do we slip thereby into pantheism? Perhaps there are answers to these questions, but they are neither easy nor simple; and the whole nexus of problems in this area alone is, in reality, profoundly disturbing — and not merely for Christian thinkers.

The non-Thomist Christian reader will not find himself out of sympathy with Mascall's other chapters, but will find them illuminating and equally provocative. The care with which important yet subtle philosophical distinctions are manipulated, or metaphysical issues are discerned and scrutinized, makes the study of this book intellectually invigorating. It abundantly fulfils its declared objective: to serve as part of a conservation, and to stimulate thought. Let us hope that it will be read and studied as it deserves, and that other contributions to this conversation will ensue.

Both Smethurst's and Mascall's books are well documented — especially the latter — with copious references for the student who wishes to delve further into any particular aspect. Their bibliographies are rather different, as might be expected from what has

been said of their approach. This illustrates the way in which the books complement rather than duplicate one another. A feature which renders Smethurst's book of additional value is the inclusion of four appendices on logical positivism, dialectical materialism, existentialism, and "Rudolf Bultmann and Karl Heim", each remarkably lucid. In Mascall's book, a brief commentary on Smethurst's work is given; and apologies are expressed on both sides for insufficient attention to the other's publication!

Many hands to hard work

The books which I have covered (quite inadequately) by no means exhaust the range of material which has been appearing during the last few years. There have been many books recently on the nature, philosophy, influence, limitations, and so on, of science, and also of philosophy, all of which are relevant. But in a review such as this it is impossible to range so widely! I should like to conclude by directing attention to several smaller publications pertinent to the subject of this review, i.e., several articles in magazines and journals. An excellent periodical *The Christian Scholar* (published by the National Council of Christian Churches, in the United States) has carried, very rightly, some of these contributions. One of these, by McShane (1954, p. 515), suggests that conflicts between scientists and theologians occur only when they stray out of their respective domains—not a very happy analysis, in my view. It would appear that McShane is an "optimist". Another essay, by Joranson (1954, p. 523), discusses biology and man. Still another (1954, p. 247) is the article by Pollard (who is a Director of the Institute of Nuclear Studies at Oak Ridge), to which I have already made reference. This is a superb statement of our responsibility and opportunity as Christians living in a world of scientific humanism. It is written primarily with the mission of Christian colleges in mind, but its relevance is much wider: ideally it should be studied by every Christian student and teacher. A quarterly journal, the *Modern Churchman*, contained a contribution boldly entitled, "The Christian Challenge to Science", (1952, p. 195), a few years ago. This provocative article was by Claude Curling, a physicist; it calls for "a re-interpretation of human existence" (nothing less!). For, he believes, the altered conceptions of the nature of scientific knowledge today, together with our belief in God as Truth, open the way to a vast synthesis of our understanding of experience, scientific or religious. This is indeed a challenge, to all of us. Finally, two very recent articles in the *Ecumenical Review*

(July 1957) deserve mention, one by Ingelstam (of Sweden), the other by Miller (of Harvard). The first of these mentions certain dangers resulting from the influence of science, such as increasing unfashionableness of spiritual values, and goes on to emphasize that scientists must be met half-way, not preached to from a pulpit. The second draws attention to an essential difference between science and religion in respect of mystery, which is diminished in the former, but vital in the latter. This particular theme has been elaborated also by Michael Foster, a philosopher at Oxford, in his recent small book *Mystery and Philosophy* (SCM Press, 1957). Miller also makes a concerned plea that we in the Church try to understand what it is that we are really doing, and to explain this to modern man in terms he can appreciate. To get clear about what we are doing: this was one of Whitehouse's guiding principles. To speak to modern scientific man: this is what Karl Heim (and Bultmann) have specially intended in their writings. These are in fact constituent motives of all who have written on this subject. In recognition of the objective of their strivings, and with a serious, genuine share in their concern for these problems, it is for us as students to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" what they have said.

The task of examining the relation of the traditional faith to the contemporary scientific situation is one which, as Mascall has well put it, "urgently needs to be undertaken from time to time". It is urgent because our witness to Christian truth demands this, in any case. It is all the more urgent because of the particular lunacy of our contemporary situation, when, with hitherto unprecedented powers of life and death in the hands of man, the nations are looking desperately to the acceleration of scientific and technological advance to save us. Whether we like it or not, science is a factor which is shaping our age. If we as Christians believe that the end of man is the glory of God, we must work hard to understand whether or not, and, if so, in what sense, science is alien to, or contributory to, God's purposes for man.

JOHN H. ROBERTSON.

Faculty Papers

The aim of these attractively-produced twenty-five page booklets is to apply Christian insight to current academic issues and thus to relate the different disciplines concerned to the Christian faith. The first eleven were reviewed in the *Student World* I, 1956, and the following five have appeared more recently. They may be obtained (one dollar for a series of six ; individual papers 25 cents each) from the Secretary, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, The Church Missions House, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Free to be Merely A Man is the title of an essay on the age-old political problem of reconciling the claims of freedom with the demands of law. Man strives after freedom, but freedom that is unrestricted by law leads to injustice and suffering. To further social justice and to safeguard the rights of the individual he makes laws ; but "laws can be unjust as well as just and promote tyranny as much as freedom". Thomas P. Govan discusses this conflict with special reference to the history of the French, British, and American constitutions during the last two hundred years. He writes with the partiality, and some of the prejudices, of a believer in Western democracy. He is suspicious of liberal rationalism and of the superstition commonly mistaken for religion — "the universal tendency to transform the relative into the absolute, the all too human into the divine". It is noticeable that he is more concerned with the rights of freedom than with the duties which are correlative with those rights. There are two digressions : a section on Anglicanism (which will raise the eyebrows of some whose knowledge of Anglicanism is limited to the Church of England) and an outline of the American fight against slavery and racial discrimination.

In *The Christian Teaching of Literature* Frederick A. Pottle begins by asking whether there is such a thing as a specifically Christian teaching of literature. In clearing the ground for discussion he rejects the old cut-and-dried distinction between revealed knowledge and knowledge gained "by the unaided operations of the human intellect". He inclines to the view that all arrival at truth is by a species of revelation. He regards natural science as "the best contribution of our time to natural theology" and religion as "the total response of man to all his environment". So in the Christian teaching

of literature there is much more than the inculcation of Christian doctrine. What more? Apart from professional competence there are three fundamental requirements. The first is an understanding of the consonancy of any particular work with Christian theology in general. "A widely Christian view of human existence has scope not merely for heroism and purity but also for wretchedness and vice; not merely for high seriousness but also for recklessness, laughter and (I think) indecency." The second is recognition of what H. Wheeler Robinson used to describe as "the ministry of error". Even Marx or Nietzsche or Freud may have a vital word for our generation; and although Shelley, for example, repudiated Christianity, many of his writings are essentially Christian. The third requirement concerns religious practice. "A man whose interest in religion is merely intellectual has not yet got religion, and he will not get it until he begins to practise it. One of the most useful acts we can perform for our students is to convince them that literature is no substitute for anything else." This pithy essay will provide a useful talking-point in many common rooms.

More tendentious and provocative in many ways is Randall Stewart's *American Literature and the Christian Tradition* in which he traces the influence of the Bible and *The Book of Common Prayer* on American literature from the beginning of the eighteenth century and attempts to appraise individual authors in terms of their Christian orthodoxy. While R. W. Emerson and Theodore Dreiser, for example, are dubbed heretics, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, and William Faulkner are included among "the great orthodox writers". The justification of this sharp distinction involves some strange statements about original sin and raises awkward questions concerning our whole basis of assessment. Must a good story be based on Christian presuppositions? Can we judge it by theological standards alone? And what are the criteria of orthodoxy? Many who are still groping for the answers will want to know how the author came to be so sure. And even if they can believe that the orthodox are "very generally regarded today as among the greatest of American writers" they will wonder whether this is as significant, and as gratifying, as Professor Stewart suggests.

Wilber G. Katz's *Moral Theology and the Criminal Law* is a continuation of his earlier paper, *Natural Law and Human Nature*. Here he considers the purpose of criminal law in the light of the Judeo-Christian tradition. In discussing the use of law as a social deterrent and as a means of reformation, he follows G. Zilboorg and F. Alexander in assuming that "the average man" as well as the potential criminal stands in need of the threat of punishment. But the

idea of punishment cannot be separated from moral responsibility; and now that "man has eaten much fruit from the tree of psychological knowledge" it is often difficult, and sometimes quite impossible, to know exactly how much blame to attach to a given action. And however well a particular punishment may fit a particular crime, it will not achieve its purpose unless it leads to forgiveness. No man is truly reformed until he is truly forgiven, and the author urges us to consider what the social consequences of this involve. How many employers are prepared to follow the example of Charles A. Ward, whose company has taken on more than three hundred ex-convicts? Forgiveness is a social responsibility, and according to Wilber G. Katz, we must provide "an environment of forgiveness, accepting vicariously the cost and risk which such action entails", if the law is to achieve its proper purpose.

The Christian lawyer has personal problems as well as more professional ones. How is he to relate his faith to his understanding of jurisprudence? In *The Life of Worship and the Legal Profession*, William Stringfellow, a student at Harvard Law School¹, explains the biblical doctrines of creation and redemption and in particular the place of the Church in the new divine order — the new creation. By "Church" he means the visible Church, the *locus* of which is the congregation. "No adherence to Christ exists outside the congregation; there is no membership in the Church except in the congregation." This leads to a discussion of worship (especially sacramental worship) as the distinctive expression of the Church's life and the basic ingredient of Christian discipline. Worship introduces a new dimension; worship is part of the eternal drama of the Gospel, and the Christian's most vital act of witness to the world. It is a pity that Mr. Stringfellow is not more successful in relating this very relevant and timely exposition to the vocational questions he poses in his introduction and conclusion.

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